



FIRST LADY

Whip hand in the White House

Page 14



VIRGIN'S BATTLE

Branson turns to Brussels

Page 21



CRICKET

Fairbrother sees England home

Page 40

LAW
ON
TUESDAY
Pages 27-31

THE TIMES

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45p

47 JETS STRIKE TO 'FINISH THE JOB'

Uneasy allies wait for Clinton

With Iraq under attack for the third time in five days, America's allies began to express doubts over how to proceed. The long-term policy of incoming US president Bill Clinton remains unclear

By PHILIP WEBSTER IN LONDON
AND CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN CAIRO

SIGNS of unease emerged among America's allies last night over how to pursue the campaign of attacks against Saddam Hussein. They were anxious to see the direction to be taken by the Clinton administration.

The Russians and the French signalled their disquiet at further prosecution of the campaign without resort to the United Nations, and the Foreign Office emphasised that yesterday's targets were chosen by the Americans. Forty-seven allied aircraft raided targets in northern and southern Iraq that were not destroyed in Wednesday's strikes. "We went back to finish up the job — all pilots have returned safely to their bases," said a senior US defence official.

It was reported in Washington that a US F15 fighter jet had apparently shot down another Iraqi MIG25 over

northern Iraq last night. But behind a show of bipartisan unity, questions were being raised about where the resumption of hostilities was leading and whether the coalition that mounted Operation Desert Storm could be held together.

A statement by the Russian foreign ministry called for a new meeting of the UN security council to review the situation, saying that "reaction to the actions of Iraq must be in proportion and only according to agreed decisions". Victor Gontcharev, the ministry's Middle East specialist, called the attacks counterproductive and unlikely to induce Iraqi "compliance".

Russia, a security council member, previously supported military action to enforce UN resolutions. King Hussein of Jordan issued the toughest condemnation



Banging the drum: Bill Clinton addressing Georgetown students, with a fife and drum corps behind him

Daylight attacks knock out radar centres

By JAMIE DETTMER
AND RICHARD BASTON

THE Western allies launched early morning bombing strikes against radar sites and anti-aircraft missile batteries in both northern and southern Iraq yesterday, the third American-led air raid in the Gulf in six days. Washington warned Iraq that any future provocative moves by Baghdad would result in further attacks.

One of yesterday's raids involved 47 planes from America, Britain and France bombing southern Iraqi missile sites missed in the air assault last

Wednesday. Several hours later, American aircraft moved against anti-aircraft batteries in northern Iraq after they started to track and lock on to coalition planes policing the no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel.

The White House said the assault within the southern Iraq air exclusion zone was ordered as a "response to Iraq's moves to reconstitute its surface-to-air missile systems" there and in reaction to Baghdad's openly proclaimed policy of challenging the no-fly zones.

The Pentagon said the attack was similar to Wednesday's except it was

launched in daylight. American planes and four British Tornado aircraft dropped bombs and missiles while French fighters flew overhead. Fourteen of the bombers were US air force jets: ten F-15s and four F-16 Fighting Falcons.

Bush administration officials said last night that an American cruise missile was knocked off-course by Iraqi fire and hit the al-Rashid hotel during Sunday's assault. The Pentagon said the 398-room hotel had not been a target.

The Iraqis claimed that eight Tornado cruise missiles were shot down,

and President Saddam Hussein awarded each air defence battery responsible half a million Iraqi dinars (£10,000), a reward which may have helped to explain the sporadic anti-aircraft fire over Baghdad even though the city was not under attack.

Although the Iraqi capital was calm yesterday, with people reporting to work, markets open and children going to school as usual, there were outbursts of anger against the West for the latest civilian casualties, a mood that expressed at the funeral of two victims who were killed when a missile exploded near the hotel lobby.

Students cheer a new dawn

FROM JAMIE DETTMER IN WASHINGTON

BILL Clinton, the president-elect, returned to his alma mater of Georgetown University yesterday and later gave an address on the life of the civil rights leader Martin Luther King as he continued his symbolic pre-inauguration tour of Washington.

Two days before his swearing-in as president, Mr Clinton told students at Howard University, the nation's most prestigious black college: "We have much work to do against stiff odds without a day to waste." He said that the example of Martin Luther King, whose birthday yesterday was celebrated as a public holiday in America, would inspire him now that he had reached "the mountain top of American democracy".

Thousands of cheering students turned out at Georgetown, having waited for three hours on a cold but sunny day to hear Mr Clinton tell them that, as America's future leader, they must learn to adapt. "I believe with all my heart that a lot of the problems of America are the problems of the spirit as well as physical."

He joked about the horrors of communal university living and pointed to the dormitory where he had lived as a student — "If you can call dormitory life living."

Before dawn, Mr Clinton jogged the three-mile route of tomorrow's inaugural parade before going to a luncheon for 50 "American heroes" — people he had met during the election campaign.

The decision to visit two universities was highly symbolic in a tour that has focused

largely on the needs of young people. "The reach of the government is limited and the reach of the president is limited," he told students. "Much of what I can accomplish is based on my ability to inspire you... the problems of America can only be solved when we reach across the divisions that divide us."

Perhaps tired from what has already been a gruelling schedule over the past 24 hours, Hillary Clinton, the future first lady, stumbled as she and her husband walked down the red-carpeted steps of Healy Hall after the speech. Mr Clinton steadied her as she tripped in her two-inch heels.

The couple did not attend Sunday night's informal "Arkansas Blue Jeans Ball", leaving Mr Clinton to be briefed by General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the situation in Iraq, which has cast something of a pall over the jubilant celebrations in the capital.

Referring to the hostilities, Mr Clinton told diplomats yesterday morning that he endorsed President Bush's military stance and warned President Saddam Hussein to expect more of the same from his administration.

"We are all mindful of the tension in Iraq and of Saddam Hussein's continuing provocations against the international community and his own people. He must understand America's resolve during this transition period will not waver."

Cartier old guard, page 12
Welfare fight, page 13

'An eye for an eye is the only law Saddam will understand'

The day after he wrote this, last week, the coalition forces attacked.

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GENERAL SIR PETER
DE LA BILLIERE
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Primary schools face reform

By JOHN O'LEARY
EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

PRIMARY schools will be pressed to return to traditional teaching methods and concentrate on the basics of the national curriculum in a reform package outlined yesterday by John Patten, the education secretary.

Mr Patten is acting on two reports by inspectors and curriculum advisers, which found schools unable to deliver the full national curriculum. Both argued for a reduction in the volume of work to be covered

by pupils between the ages of five and 11.

A five-year rolling review of the curriculum will assess each subject in turn. The National Curriculum Council is already working on slimmer proposals for both English and technology.

Mr Patten is writing to the 20,000 primary schools in England, asking them to consider grouping pupils according to ability, specialist subject teaching in the later years of primary education, better planning of project work and more teaching of whole class

es, rather than splitting children into groups.

The education secretary will issue proposals in the spring for teacher training reforms to ensure that students have specialist expertise, as well as the ability to cover the whole curriculum.

Ann Taylor, Labour's education spokeswoman, accused him of trying to "stream" primary school pupils in preparation for a return to selective secondary education.

Patten pledges, page 8
Leading article, page 17

Shell petrol up 9p

PETROL price increases announced by Shell could cost motorists up to 9p a gallon more (Philip Pangalos writes).

A "tough market place" was blamed for the 7.7p a gallon increase in the price of wholesale petrol supplied to service stations. The wholesale cost of Shell diesel is rising by 5.4p a gallon.

Shell said pump prices for all grades of petrol could go up by a maximum of 9p a gallon, or 2p a litre, and for diesel by 6.4p a gallon, or 1.4p a litre. But intense competition means some service stations

would charge lower prices. Shell's maximum recommended prices at garages will be 240.5p per gallon (52.9p per litre) for four star leaded; 220.5p per gallon (48.5p per litre) for unleaded; and 236p per gallon (51.9p per litre) for "Superplus" unleaded. Diesel could go up to 226.9p per gallon (49.9p per litre).

David Flint, general manager of Shell's retail division, pointed out that on December 14 Shell cut its maximum recommended price by 18p a gallon — 4.5p more than its competitors.

Arts	33-35
Births, marriages	18
Business	21-26
Concise Crossword	40
Court and Social	18
Crossword	20
Law Report	31
Leading articles	17
Letters	17-25
Obituaries	19
Sport	36-38, 40
Weather	20
Your Own Business	32
TV & radio	39

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America and allies struggle to win widespread support for punitive bombing raids

Rifkind faces cross-party misgivings over strategy

By NICHOLAS WOOD AND ARTHUR LEATHLEY

CROSS-party support for allied air strikes on Iraq showed signs of strain last night after senior Conservatives joined forces with opposition leaders to accuse ministers of lacking a long-term strategy in the Gulf.

After the third bombardment of Iraqi military targets in five days, Malcolm Rifkind, the defence secretary, faced persistent questioning in the Commons about the motives behind the Western military intervention. A minority of MPs detected double standards towards the enforcement of UN resolutions.

Questions were asked about Sunday night's blast at the al-Rashid hotel in central Baghdad in which two women receptionists reportedly were killed. Tony Benn said that bombing civilians was a crime. "President Bush is not licensed to kill, nor to speak on behalf of the international community," he said. Tony

BRITAIN

Madow, Conservative MP for Northampton North, said that the allied onslaught might have been designed to build up Saddam's reputation, inflame Muslim fundamentalism and wreck the Middle East peace process. "It seems to be politically correct to zap nasty Arabs, but to ignore what is done by the state of Israel."

Speculation also mounted about a rift between America and Britain over the Western stance towards President Saddam Hussein after it was disclosed that President Bush and John Major spent much of the weekend deliberating about their next move. Six telephone calls took place before they ordered Sunday night's attack on a nuclear weapons plant near Baghdad and yesterday's bombing raids on missile batteries in the no-fly zones. Officials and ministers denied any split or that the US, Britain and France were acting without clear objectives. They insisted that the goal remained the enforcement of UN resolutions. They pointed out that Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN secretary-general, has said that action to enforce the no-fly zone was in accordance with international law.

Mr Rifkind said: "These coalition actions have clearly demonstrated to the Iraqis the seriousness of our demand that Iraq should comply with UN resolutions and our continuing determination to maintain the no-fly zones in the north and south of Iraq."

If Iraq did not comply, consideration of further action would not be shirked. Downing Street aides delivered an equally tough message: "We are dealing with an administration that does not

listen to reason and needs to be taught lessons."

David Howell, chairman of the all-party foreign affairs select committee, said that although a strong response was the right answer, something more was needed. The UN Security Council should develop a "sustained set" of political, diplomatic and economic pressures to encourage Saddam's political enemies.

Dr David Clark, Labour's defence spokesman, supported the latest raids but said there was a fear that the renewed hostilities could get out of hand. "Saddam Hussein's brinkmanship could lead to the resumption of full-scale war. There is a feeling that we are drifting towards another bout of major hostilities and that ought to be avoided."

Menzies Campbell, the Lib Dem spokesman, said on BBC radio that the government did not have a "blank cheque" from his party for military action. "There is some validity in the assertion there is no clear political aim so far identified... We cannot simply fire off a salvo every time we think the UN resolutions may have not been observed in some small essential."

Peter Temple-Morris, Tory MP for Leominster and a Middle East specialist, had earlier hinted at the unease on the Tory benches by accusing ministers of tolerating a policy vacuum over the region. "I think the mistake at the moment is that you have super-power intervention for minimal reason when in fact, if you had a policy, you would develop regional balance," he said on BBC radio.

Peter Millar and
Diary, page 16
Leading article, page 17

Peter Millar, page 16
Diary, page 16
Leading article, page 17

Uneasy allies await Clinton policy

Continued from page 1

mons, anxiety was voiced over Sunday night's blast at the al-Rashid hotel in central Baghdad and there were calls last night for a Commons debate before more British forces were sent into action.

It was revealed that intense consultations had taken place between President Bush and John Major before the latest military action was sanctioned, although it was denied in London that the prime minister had been trying in their six telephone conversations to restrain Mr Bush.

Nevertheless, the inauguration tomorrow of Bill Clinton as the new president is eagerly awaited by senior British dip-

lomats and MPs, who fear that the current round of attacks is in danger of being portrayed as a personal last-ditch effort by Mr Bush and Saddam.

While expressing backing for the latest attacks, senior figures from all parties suggested in the Commons yesterday that the allies should return to the United Nations to seek agreement on a long-term plan to counter Iraqi aggression.

Sheikh Ali Sabah al-Salem, the Kuwaiti defence minister and member of his royal family, said British and French soldiers would be asked to join the 1,100 US cavalry troops, dispatched

after last Wednesday's raids, and Kuwaiti fighting units near the north and north-western border, the scene of numerous incidents with the Iraqis in recent weeks. He did not specify the number of troops he was calling for.

Mr Rifkind assured MPs that the allies were taking steps to minimise the risk to non-combatants and disclosed that one of the RAF Tornados in yesterday's raid did not release its weapons because it could not clearly identify its target and its crew wanted to avoid civilian casualties.



Saddam shown on Iraqi television yesterday visiting a patient in a Baghdad hospital. The man was said to have been wounded in Sunday's missile attack

Air attacks divert the critics and give boost to tyranny

FROM CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN CAIRO

PRESIDENT Saddam Hussein's dramatic appearance at the bedside of the wounded in a Baghdad hospital early yesterday has convinced many Arab and Western military experts that renewed air raids on Iraq have strengthened his personal position.

At the end of the Gulf war the Iraqi leader was paranoid about personal security, but since a subsequent shake-up in his huge personal bodyguard he appears to be less anxious about his safety. He has even put back nearly two stones in weight which he lost in 1991.

Tomorrow Iraq is expected to use the Western media to gloat over the final departure of his main enemy, President

Bush. The failure of allied planners to launch any type of attack that could be construed as aimed deliberately at his own grip on power was seen as a result of reluctance on the part of some of Washington's top brass, a feeling shared by America's European and Arab allies apart from Kuwait.

As well as diverting anger at Iraq's crippling shortages from his own government towards the West, Saddam has used the raids to concentrate his army on defending the country rather than allowing it to become a melting pot for discontent against him. This had been building in recent weeks because even the army was finding that its supplies, usually well above the level of civilian rations, had been cut.

The regrowth in his domestic stature, dates from his widely publicised swim across the muddy river Tigris last summer, made to stop rumours of a coup circulating in Baghdad. Since then he has appeared in front of supporters firing a gun defiantly in the air and occasionally with a large cigar clamped confidently, Churchill-style, between his teeth.

Because of his peripatetic lifestyle (he never sleeps in the same bed two nights in a row) and his network of underground bankers, Western intelligence sources believe that nothing short of a new ground war involving house-to-house fighting in Baghdad is likely to bring his immediate downfall.

Western sources in the Middle East claimed yesterday that supporters inside the Bush administration who favoured a much more comprehensive series of aerial attacks, targeting the barracks of his secret police and presidential guard, were overruled.

Iraq willingness to suddenly extend visas to nearly 100 foreign journalists, many given out without the usual rigorous checking procedure, was taken as added proof that Saddam predicted air raids as a "media spectacular" which would present him to most Arabs as the saviour hero.

The reluctance of America to take the type of action that might lead to his overthrow is seen even by moderate Arabs as proof of the West's underlying reluctance to have him replaced by an unknown, and then see the danger of a period of chaos spreading through the Middle East.

The nightmare is that Bill Clinton will take power in America, the attacks will tail off, and Saddam will emerge even stronger than before when he celebrates his 56th birthday in April.

Mother of all battles spawns infant with a whimper

By EVE-ANN PRENTICE AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

THE international clamour for Saddam Hussein's blood during the Gulf war two years ago has shrunk to barely a whisper after the strikes on Iraq during the past six days.

Although the attacks this time do not amount to a war, America, Britain and France stand alone in matching their words with action. Many countries which supported the allies in 1991 have at best fallen silent, or are mumbling unhappily under their breath.

Morocco, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait all sent troops to the Gulf two years ago. Now all these countries, except Kuwait with its vested interest in keeping Saddam pinned down, feel let down by American promises to get to grips with the Middle East peace process.

Egypt and Syria which took major roles in backing the allied coalition with money and men two years ago, now want a diplomatic solution to the problem of Saddam and are unhappy about the latest use of force. The regimes of presidents Mubarak and Assad fear that Iran has been left the real victor of the 1991 war. Mr Mubarak is especially wary of a rise in Islamic fundamentalism in his country, and many Egyptians believe Islamic extremism thrives on the West's perceived aggression in the region.

Saudi Arabia, the Arab rock on which the allied war effort was based two years ago, has made no public statement on the renewed raids, even though allied aircraft have used its Dhahran air base. The only country to give full-bodied vocal support has been Kuwait.

Morocco, which sent troops last time, has kept silent on the raids.

King Hussein of Jordan last night said he was deeply angered by the attacks on Iraq. "I believe it [the anger] is there in the hearts of Arabs everywhere who feel they have

lost the ability to address their own problems by themselves, and who feel that the Arab nation is being fragmented and violated in such a way."

The king was widely criticised in the rest of the Arab world for standing on the sidelines two years ago, and has spent the intervening time trying to distance himself from Saddam, but has not pronounced on the attacks.

Iran has been at least consistent, then, and now, in blaming its arch enemy Saddam for bringing the raids on himself, but at the same time accusing the West of intervening in the region under any pretext.

Turkey was at the forefront of the war effort two years ago, when it allowed its air bases to be used. However, it is now fearful that the allies' imposition of a no-fly zone could lead to the break-up of Iraq and the development of an independent Kurdish state in the north. This is anathema to Ankara which is fighting its own undeclared war against Kurdish separatists.

Israel is not nearly as worried as it was two years ago, partly because Saddam is weaker and partly because the Arab countries do not seem to

be involved in an anti-Saddam coalition.

Palestinians from the occupied territories, however, have been highlighting Western double-standards, arguing that their grievances went unanswered after the 1991 war and calling for consistency on the implementation of UN resolutions.

Germany re-affirmed its backing for the allies yesterday. The government has not been asked to contribute any funds (unlike in 1991) and the constitution has been interpreted as forbidding them from despatching troops outside the Nato area.

Russia seems to be growing increasingly edgy, yesterday calling for a new meeting of the security council. The foreign ministry reiterated the government's view that Iraq had provoked the crisis, but did not specifically endorse the attacks. A foreign ministry official said Russia was concerned for the lives of its citizens in Iraq.

Japan gave \$11 billion to the Gulf war effort in 1991, but escaped agonising about whether to send troops because foreign intervention is forbidden under its constitution. The stock market was thrown into turmoil two years ago, but has so far remained unaffected.



Husain: angered by the attacks on Iraq



Mubarak: wary of rise in Islamic fundamentalism

Gulf war widows plead for financial help

Three Gulf war widows yesterday delivered a letter to John Major, protesting that they have not received a penny from the public trust fund set up to help those who suffered losses in the conflict two years ago.

Liz Weeks, Lyn Hicks and Anne Lennox, whose husbands were Tornado aircrewmen, said they had hoped for payments to help them cope with bringing up their families and as an investment for the future.

Mrs Weeks, 35, whose husband, Squadron Leader Kevin Weeks, 37, was listed as missing in action over Iraq, said: "I have not received a single penny. I want to secure the future of my six-year-old daughter Amy and not to have to be

worrying where money is coming from."

The women believe they are entitled to payments from the £3 million Gulf Trust fund. They claim they have been discriminated against because the money is being distributed on a means-tested basis.

Mrs Lennox, whose husband, Squadron Leader Garry Lennox, was shot down, said: "All members of the armed forces have a right to believe that in the event of their death in action their dependants will be looked after. They accept the risks when they join, but it is not a privilege to die for your country." Mrs Lennox has been fighting for more than 18 months for a share of the fund's money. In the letter,

the women ask: "Is the prime minister aware of the utter disbelief and dismay of the general public, both in the UK and abroad, to hear that dependants of those killed in the conflict have not yet received any benefit from the fund?"

"To date we have not been given one penny. Why? Because our husbands had life insurance policies which paid out on their deaths and we are, therefore, not deemed in need. We are not trying to be money grabbing, nor are we bringing up young children on pensions which are substantially less than our husbands' salaries were."

The fund was set up as a

charity on the recommendation of the Attorney-General because of the legal complications that arose in using money from the Falklands fund as compensation for families. As a charitable trust the Gulf war money is held by the Ministry of Defence on behalf of the benevolent funds of the three services. Each of these funds awards help on the basis of their own rules to applicants and then reclaims this amount from the ministry. In essence this involves a means test to assess the level of need.

The Gulf war widows could expect to receive money from the fund only if they could prove they were destitute as a result of the war.

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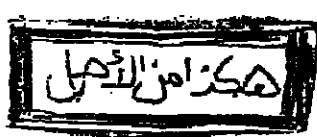
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that leave Baghdad battered but defiant in the face of Western military superiority

Shadow of Vietnam hangs over allied combat in the Gulf

By MICHAEL EVANS AND MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

While the air raids have led to some concessions, few believe more attacks will remove Saddam from power

AFTER three raids, 40 Tomahawk cruise missiles and thousands of pounds of laser-guided bombs, where is the coalition strategy in dealing with President Saddam Hussein? Has he just blinked and ducked or is he gradually bowing to the pressure of bombs falling on his military installations?

The allied attacks were supposed to teach him a lesson, but it is becoming increasingly apparent that he will not learn it. The more the allies launch their warplanes and cruise missiles against selected Iraqi targets, the more the Iraqi dictator is defying United Nations resolutions and deliberately provoking his old adversaries with hostile actions in the "no-fly" zones.

As even Pentagon officials privately concede, it is far from clear why he should capitulate to mere punitive jabs from his enemies when he survived, just two years ago, one of the most devastating military onslaughts ever launched.

The limited strikes have so far inflicted only minimal damage on what remains a formidable Iraqi war machine, and were, in any case intended, more as a political warning. In fact they may have played into Saddam's

hands by inflaming Iraqi nationalist passions and diverting the attention of his people from growing hardships. After all, Saddam went out of his way to provoke them.

So, far from doing Bill Clinton a good turn, President Bush may actually be presenting him with an acute dilemma. If limited strikes do not force Iraqi compliance, should

present strategy. Indeed, there are few officials who believe that the three raids and any subsequent attacks will get Saddam removed.

Is the West therefore shooting itself in the foot by continuing to react to Saddam's every defiant gesture by sending in more war planes?

The answer is not yet clear. The bombs and missiles have, however, forced him to give ground: the police posts on the wrong side of the Kuwait-Iraq border are being dismantled, the UN flights carrying weapons inspectors can now fly to Baghdad, although there are still conditions, and the incursions into Kuwait have stopped. On that score, the raids have achieved "partial compliance and considerable damage, particularly to the nuclear fabrication facility in the district of Zafaraiyah, reduced to rubble by the Tomahawks.

Whether the coalition raids continue will now depend not just on Saddam's conduct in relation to his UN obligations but on two other factors: will he defy the coalition by attacking the Kurds in the north or the Shiites in the south, and how will the coalition react? And will Washington's strategy change once Mr Clinton becomes president?

Throughout the current confrontation with Iraq, Brent Scowcroft, the US national security adviser, has been on the phone regularly to Downing Street to consult John Major. Although his successor in the Clinton administration is likely to continue the dialogue, there is expectation in London, and undoubtedly in Baghdad, that the new president will want time to reflect on how to deal with Saddam in the long term.

Nuclear target reduced to rubble

FROM RICHARD BRESTON IN BAGHDAD

THE young Iraqi officer was livid the moment he saw the foreign journalists drawing up in front of the sprawling industrial complex where 40 US Tomahawk cruise missiles landed on Sunday night.

"Turn off those cameras and clear out," he ordered as our official Iraqi guides retreated before the country's real voice of authority. President Saddam Hussein's security apparatus. Only hours before, Iraq had opened the doors of the al-Nidra facilities, ten miles south of Baghdad, to the scrutiny of Western correspondents, but by daylight

they appeared almost to have given up trying to persuade the world that the ruined engineering complex had only harmless civilian applications.

"Yesterday was one thing, today is another," said the officer, while workers and experts attempted to salvage the milling and turning machines, suspected of being a key component in making the equipment necessary for Iraq to enrich uranium and build an atomic weapon. "We were warned that something might happen last week after the attacks in the south, but I never imagined they would do this," said a distraught Yehiya Nassayef, the director-general of the factory, which has been visited several times by UN weapons inspectors, suspicious of the possible "dual use" applications of the equipment.

The 12 workshops used to manufacture moulds and dies lie in a heap of rubble and twisted metal. Three support buildings are the only structures left standing. The milling and turning machines, made by the Iraqi-owned British firm Matrix Churchill and German companies, are probably beyond repair.

Sunday's raid was not without human cost, specifically the three civilians killed and 17 injured when at least two missiles missed their target.

"I counted 21 missiles travelling north to south over our house and then exploding in the suburbs until the last one came crashing down here," said Dr Muhammad Hasham, who was clearing debris from his villa in a fashionable part of Baghdad. Three of his children had been taken to hospital after being injured by flying glass, his car had been virtually destroyed by shrapnel and the only frame left undamaged in his house was a portrait of Saddam. "I suppose the missile must have lost its way or was shot down. I thought they were supposed to be smart bombs, but instead they are very stupid missiles," said the doctor.

A smile dies at the al-Rashid hotel

FROM MARIE COLVIN IN BAGHDAD

ON SUNDAY morning, Amira Uysal, 24, made herself up, did her hair, put on her favourite sweater and went into Baghdad city centre to have her picture taken in a photographic studio. That afternoon, she showed it to fellow receptionists as they dressed for the night shift at the al-Rashid hotel. "Amira, why did you have your picture taken?" one friend asked. "I don't know, I guess I just like myself," Amira joked. Yesterday

day her older sister Bushira, dressed in black and screaming in grief, held the last picture of the smiling woman out of the window of a Chevrolet truck driving through Baghdad.

Amira's coffin was in the back, draped with an Iraqi flag and followed by hundreds of mourners. Her throat had been cut by one of the jagged shards of glass that blasted through the al-Rashid's lobby when an American cruise missile, possibly knocked off course by anti-aircraft fire, crashed into the garden.

Amira was everyone's favourite at the hotel. She always had a smile or a joke for fellow workers or harried guests. "Miss Mary, welcome back. We have missed you," she greeted me this time. We had spent weeks together in the al-Rashid during the allied bombardment of Baghdad two years ago. Amira's diligence



Family grief: Amira's sister holding her final picture

led to her death. When the anti-aircraft fire began in Baghdad on Sunday night, it was Amira who shouted to guests and staff milling about in confusion. "Everyone into the shelter. Please you must go to the shelter, there may be bombs."

Amira went to the shelter herself, but walked back up into the lobby to make sure no one had been left behind. The last thing her friends heard her say was "I'll just be one minute, I promise." She was cut down as she ran past the cashier.

Another woman, identified only as Zehab, also died. Fifteen others were injured at the al-Rashid: two journalists and five staffers. Hundreds of

Iraqis, friends, family and those who had heard about the tragedy only on television, flocked to the al-Rashid yesterday for a funeral procession through Baghdad.

Usually in Baghdad, Western journalists are met with smiles on the streets or a word of welcome in a shop. But yesterday a Western face drew only hostile glances. One middle-aged woman had to be restrained from attacking me as she screamed: "Is this civilisation? This is your Western civilisation!"

Amira died a death that few Iraqis can comprehend. How and why United Nations flights arrive in Iraq seem to them a paltry reason to bomb their capital and risk lives.

Regime's critics are forced into exile

FROM MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA

NEW divisions in the Iraqi opposition leave it too weak and divided to provide an impetus for Saddam Hussein's overthrow or to run the country if his armed forces rebel, according to Arab analysts. Coups in Iraq in the past have had some degree of civilian backing, but Saddam has crushed internal opposition, leaving most of his critics in exile.

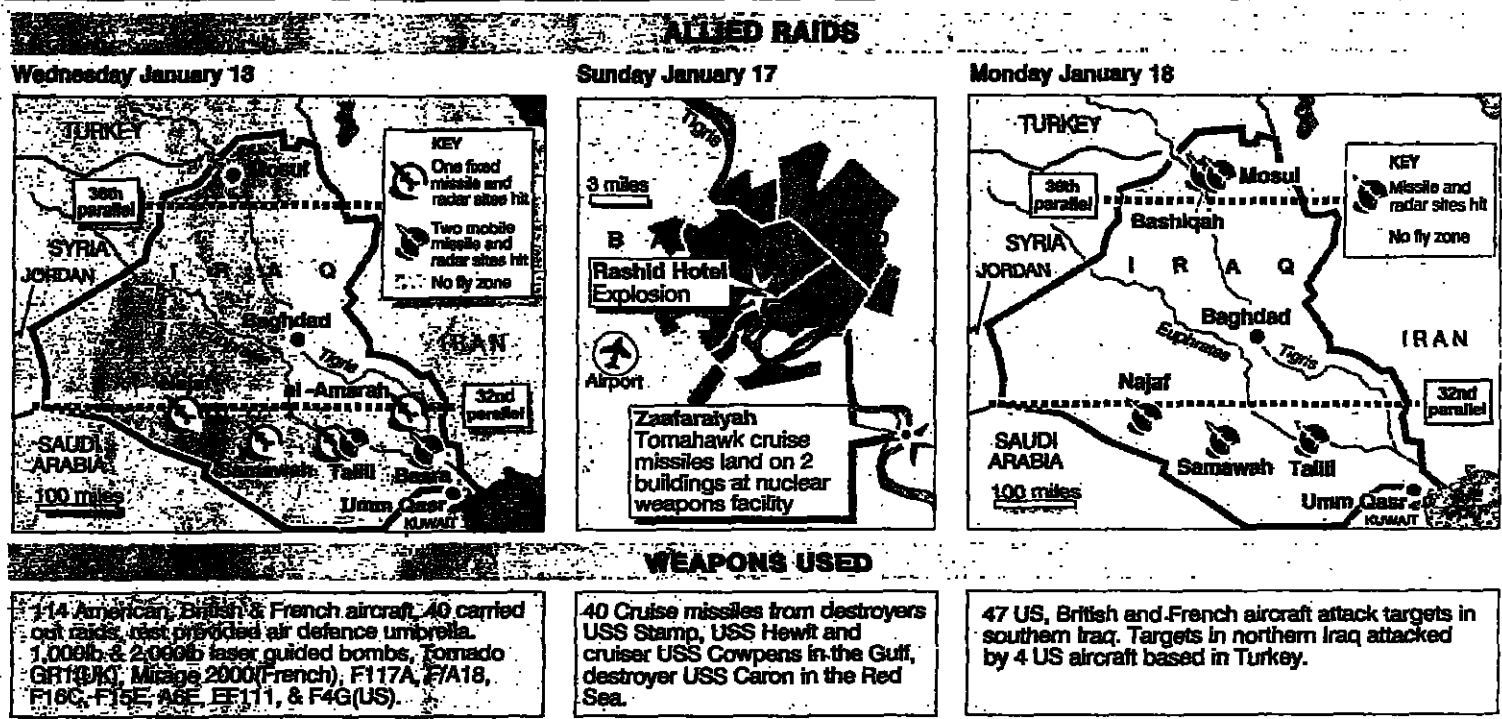
Amid disputes over direction and personalities, important Shia and Sunni Muslim

figures have frozen their membership in the executive council of the Iraqi National Congress, the opposition's umbrella organisation. The congress has had little success in courting senior figures within the Iraqi military. Established last June, the congress first made progress and last November hosted a conference in northern Iraq which brought together 260 delegates from virtually every opposition group for the first time on Iraqi soil. Loosening

ties with regional capitals, they espoused democracy, pledged to keep Iraq unified and created a joint leadership.

Some now argue that the congress is reinforcing sectarian differences rather than overcoming them. A perception within Iraq that the exiled opposition is primarily led by Kurds and Shia Muslims is also said to have alarmed many of the mainly Sunni Muslim officer class.

Many opposition leaders agree that the best way to topple Saddam is to strike at the Amn al-Qasr, a 20,000-strong presidential guard.



Laser-guided bombs hit key sites in daylight mission

By MICHAEL EVANS DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

LASER-guided bombs were delivered by allied aircraft from medium altitude in a daylight raid yesterday that would keep the Iraqis "on their toes", according to a British spokesman.

Group Captain Peter Walker, deputy director of operations at RAF Strike Command, High Wycombe,

Buckinghamshire, said the Iraqis had been getting used to night-time attacks. The third bombing mission in five days involved 43 American, British and French aircraft in the south of Iraq. In the north four US jets launched their attack from Incirlik, Turkey.

American and British bombers, covered by six French Mirages and US air defence aircraft, used

1,000lb and 2,000lb laser-guided bombs to hit the Iraq targets. Yesterday's raid began at about 6.30am London time and ended at about 9am. Initial reports showed that the raid was more effective than last week when American bombers only achieved a 50 per cent success rate.

Four RAF Tornado GR1s took part, operating in pairs as they did last week, with

two jets ordered to drop the bombs and the other two designating the targets with their TIALD laser device. This time, however, only one batch of three 1,000lb bombs was dropped. The pilots of the second pair of Tornados could not properly identify the target, an air defence command bunker at al-Najaf, and called off the attack for fear of causing civilian casualties.

A pair of RAF Jaguars patrolling in the northern air exclusion zone were fired at yesterday by anti-aircraft artillery but were not hit. Two American F4G jets from Incirlik were sent to attack the Iraqi base ten miles southwest of Mosul and each fired one Harrier missile at the radar sites. Later, two American F16s dropped four cluster bombs on an airfield at Bashiqa in northern Iraq.

Emirate calls for British troops to guard border

FROM CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN CAIRO

KUWAIT announced yesterday that it would call on Britain to honour its recent defence commitment by sending ground troops to help defend the emirate's 150-mile border with Iraq.

Shaikh Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, the defence minister and member of Kuwait's royal family, also called on France, which likewise has a new defence agreement, to send men to serve alongside the 1,100 United States cavalry troops dispatched in the wake of last Wednesday's first air raid. He said British and French soldiers would be

asked to join Kuwaiti fighting units near the north and northwestern border area, where numerous incidents with the Iraqis have occurred in recent weeks.

The minister did not specify the number of troops he was calling for, but said the request was in the context of the defence pact signed last year. Western sources said that Britain, with its recent large troop commitment to Bosnia, still provoking controversy at home, was considered unlikely to accede to Kuwait's request, although it might send extra troops as part of a UN

peacekeeping force if one is deployed.

The United States has already sent 1,100 infantry troops based in Texas to augment some 300 US special forces troops which were in Kuwait for exercises before the recent confrontation. Their stay is reported to be indefinite and their arrival was described as a message to Baghdad.

Abdullah Bishara, the Kuwaiti secretary-general of the six national Gulf Co-Operation Council, voiced support for the return of British troops. "Kuwaitis see the Americans and British as friends and allies," Mr Bishara said. "Our perception is that Gulf security is of paramount importance to

the international community because of its strategic value, global strategy and global economy. If the British come here, it is not just a British initiative, but at the behest of the international community. We will have a warm welcome for them, and for all the Allies. They will boost our morale and help to contain the Iraqi regime."

Arab observers said that any arrival of British and French soldiers would provoke anger among Islamic fundamentalists already upset at the recent arrival of American troops. The fundamentalists, led by Iran, fear that the latest clashes have been engineered to ensure a more permanent

Western military foothold in the region.

When considering the request, Whitehall is expected to take into account that any new British troop presence in the Gulf may help boost Britain's drive to increase arms sales to the shahdoms. The United States has secured the lion's share of those arms deals since the end of the Gulf war.

Air raid sirens were sounded in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia yesterday, apparently in the mistaken belief that Iraq had responded to the third allied raid by firing a Scud missile. At Kuwait City's rebuilt airport, security staff rushed passengers to air raid shelters as a precaution.

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Car parks chief 'used former SAS men to infiltrate rival'

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

A SHADOWY group of former SAS men were used by the chief executive of National Car Parks to infiltrate a successful business rival that had encroached on its territory, the Old Bailey was told yesterday.

Directors of Europarks were followed home and their dustbins searched for confidential information. A former army officer tricked her way into a top secretarial job to gain access to business information and the SAS men were instructed to take jobs in the company, David Paget, for the prosecution, told the court.

He said that the industrial espionage began after Gordon Layton, NCP's chief executive and deputy chairman, hired KAS, a security firm set up by Colonel David Stirling, founder of the SAS, and based in Mayfair, central London. At the time, Col Stirling, now dead, was too ill to run the company and it was managed by another former colonel, Ian Crook. When he was out of the country, it was run by Simon Hewitt, Mr Paget claimed.

Mr Layton, 56, of Regent's Park, London, and Mr Hewitt, 38, whose address was not given for security reasons, deny conspiring with Mr Crook, now in South Africa, Jane Turpin, 33, of Thame, Oxfordshire, and others to defraud Europarks by dishonestly acquiring information relating to its business affairs between January 1987 and November 1989. Mr Hewitt also denies obtaining pecuniary advantage by deception by dishonestly obtaining the opportunity for Ms

Turpin to earn money by working for Europarks.

Mr Paget said that Mr Crook was not in Britain to face charges. Ms Turpin was charged but the prosecution had decided not to proceed because of her health, although it is the Crown's case that she was involved.

Mr Paget said that NCP was the largest and most successful car parks company. Until the 1980s, it had few rivals and held most of the big contracts with local authorities. In 1985 Stephen Tucker, a Manchester businessman, founded Europarks, winning valuable contracts including one at Heathrow. NCP viewed this "upstart" challenge with concern, Mr Paget said.

Mr Layton decided to investigate his rival and hired KAS at £2,500 per month plus VAT. He was concerned that there was a leak from NCP to Europarks and he wanted to know how it was getting business "in the teeth of competition" from his own company. "That aspect became, because of the methods used, illegal," Mr Paget said. Mr Crook was involved initially, but after he went to Africa to investigate ivory poaching, Mr Hewitt took over.

A first report for NCP by David Paterson, of KAS, listed methods of espionage including electronic infiltration, posing as a surveyor, or infiltrating the firm with "one of our operators in the Europarks hierarchy as a mole".

Mr Paterson concluded that Europarks was above board

and efficient but Mr Layton, who had feared that Europarks had a mole in his company, insisted on continuing the spying.

Mr Paget said that an ex-SAS man joined Europarks at Heathrow in February 1988. "He provided verbal reports and photocopies of documents which passed through his hands, including daily takings sheets and letters of complaint from customers."

Ms Turpin, who had been a captain in the Royal Corps of Signals, was recruited by Mr Hewitt. She applied for a job as a secretary with Europarks in June 1989 using a false curriculum vitae and became a director's secretary.

Mr Paget said that shadowy former SAS men worked at Europarks to learn what they could. They would not be identified in court as their lives were still at risk because of sensitive work they did while in the SAS.

The case continues today.



On his bike: Gerald Ratner is obliged to resort to two-wheeled transport

Ratner fine reflects £20 weekly budget

By IAN MURRAY

GERALD Ratner, the former jewellery chain chairman, has only £20 a week to spend, magistrates in Thame, Oxfordshire, concluded yesterday under new regulations governing the size of fines. They fined him £160 for speeding at more than 110mph in his Mercedes.

Mr Ratner, 43, of Bray, Berkshire, was paid £7,211 a week until he resigned as chairman of Ratners Group on November 26, when he was given a year's salary of £375,000 in a lump sum. At that time, he also owned 800,000 of the company's shares, which have a current value of £112,000.

The court accepted that he was unemployed and that his disposable income was down to £1,000 a year. This meant that, although magistrates viewed his speeding offence seriously, banning him from driving for three weeks, they could not impose anything like the maximum fine of £800.

Under new regulations that came into force in October, courts have to discover a defendant's income and take

this into account in awarding fines. The regulations specifically exclude savings income, although magistrates are meant to take recent earnings into account to prevent people from deliberately becoming unemployed to avoid a heavy fine.

Mr Ratner admitted speeding on the M40 near Oxford on October 12. He told magistrates that he was now touring the country looking for a site to start a new business.

After the case his wife Moira wrote a cheque in full payment of the fine and then drove him off in her E-registered BMW convertible to their five-bedroom home near Maidenhead.

Last night Mr Ratner said he was baffled as to how his disposable income had been assessed. "If you find out how they came to that figure, I would love to know," he said. Mr Ratner, who disclosed that his personal mode of transport for the immediate future would be a bicycle, declined to confirm or deny that his spending was limited to £20 a week.

Virus forces prince to halt visit

By ALAN HAMILTON

A VIRUS infection caused the Prince of Wales to cancel a day's public engagements in Norfolk yesterday. Buckingham Palace said the Queen and five other guests and staff at Sandringham, where the prince is staying with members of the royal family, had been stricken by viral gastroenteritis on Sunday, although they had been well enough to attend church earlier in the day.

Last night, a planned reception for estate workers and pensioners at the Norfolk estate was cancelled to avoid spreading the infection. Environmental health officers took samples of the water supply for analysis although an airborne virus is believed to have caused the illness.

The Queen, the prince and other victims were not seriously unwell, but were advised by doctors to stay indoors. Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, 92, who is also at Sandringham, was unaffected. Palace sources dismissed any suggestion that the prince was hiding from the public after the publication of the so-called Camillagate tapes.

The prince was to have gone to King's Lynn to visit the Citizens Advice Bureau, the town hall and a museum. Waiting dignitaries received 35 minutes' notice that the visit had been called off.

The day air turned blue at Harrods

By NICHOLAS WATT

A HARRODS sales assistant was sacked after refusing to serve the daughter of Lord Stevens of Ludgate when she stormed into a storeroom swearing and demanding attention, an industrial tribunal was told yesterday.

Judith Stevens, whose father is chairman of Express Newspapers, which owns the Daily Express, the Sunday Express and Daily Star, allegedly interrupted the man when she yelled: "Who the bloody hell is going to serve me?" the tribunal was told.

When Gary James, 28, asked Miss Stevens to leave the room, she allegedly replied that his behaviour would make an excellent story in her father's newspapers. Mr James, who was dismissed from Harrods' pet department after he refused to apologise to Miss Stevens and is claiming unfair dismissal, told the tribunal in Croydon how he had been subjected to a verbal assault.

"I was busy serving another lady who wanted to order some feeding dishes for her cockatoo," he said. "I noticed a young lady come round the counter then go into a stockroom. She was screaming... 'Who the bloody hell is going to serve me?' I have never served anyone as difficult as this customer."

The case was adjourned until February 8.

Student dining club comes to sticky end

By BILL FROST

CHOCOLATE mousse and a surf of claret have proved the downfall of a Cambridge University dining club which has been disbanded after a dozen revellers engaged in a frenzied food fight, causing £1,200 of damage.

Fired up by the fighting red, members of the Downing Ediles went wild in a private dining room at the Hawks Club. Silk-lined curtains and soft furnishings were saturated and the undergraduates ended the battle drenched with chocolate from head to foot.

The authorities at Downing college have told the Ediles that such excesses will not be tolerated and the society, which boasted a century of unblemished roistering, has been wound up. One undergraduate has been rusticated (sent down for a term) and his fellow revellers

have been formally disciplined.

All went well on the night of the dinner at the "traditional Cambridge sporting gentlemen's club" — until the arrival of the chocolate mousse. The Ediles, enflamed with claret, decided to sort out a few old internecine scores.

Martin Blackaller, manager of Hawks, yesterday recalled the night. "It was a spontaneous eruption," he said. "Quite a bit of claret had been consumed and then the dessert arrived. They just began throwing the chocolate around. It stuck to everything." His displeasure was sharpened by the bill he had paid for redecorating his dining room shortly before the fateful night. "We had only just re-opened. Fortunately no members of my staff were caught in the crossfire," he said.

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NATIONAL SAVINGS

SECURITY HAS NEVER BEEN SO INTERESTING.

Fears of looting grow among families driven out by floodwater up to 7ft deep

Hundreds flee homes as Tay bursts its banks

By LIN JENKINS

JAMES Croll waded through freezing water up to his chest, hands held high above his head, triumphantly clutching four bottles of beer. The uncomfortable journey had been undertaken to board up a window at his home, broken by floods from the river Tay that overnight submerged the North Muirton and Muirton estates in Perth. The beer was a bonus.

Some parts of the city were said to be under 7ft of water. Three parts of the river's flood barrier had been smashed by the torrent.

"The house is on the edge of the estate and my dad was worried about looting," said Mr Croll. "And the beer needed rescuing." As he reached dry land, soldiers sailed past in an inflatable dinghy to rescue another resident, driven from his home by the prospect of more nights trapped upstairs in the cold and dark.

Many of the 600 people whose homes were flooded

went to stay with friends. Others were taken to an emergency centre at Perth grammar school.

The government is to make extra money available to local authorities in Scotland affected by the flooding. MFs were told yesterday. Repairs to the Tay flood barrier have started, although the water will not subside for days.

Jennifer Gilcrest, aged three months, was rescued with her parents by firefighters who ferried them to safety in a boat. Her mother Shirley, 31, a schoolteacher, said: "We stayed one night filling sandbags and rescuing furniture, but we had to get out."

Mrs Gilcrest's car was caught in the flood. "It was just a red roof bobbing along all over the car park." Yesterday, many other vehicles were floating around the estate, the area worst hit by flooding from many of Scotland's rivers since the weekend.

Lynne Murphy was wondering what her parents' reac-

tion would be when they returned from holiday in Spain today. The water was 5ft deep in their home. In the emergency centre, doctors provided medicines for those who had left their homes without them, meals were served and dry clothes were handed out. But some people, such as Agnes O'Sullivan, had not wanted to leave their home. She moved from London with her 17-month-old daughter Charlotte for a quieter life, but like many others was worried about looting. "I stayed as long as I could," she said. "I kept going downstairs, taking a deep breath and launching into the water to get things that I needed. It was absolutely freezing, awful."

Upstairs, she had a hoard of food and drinking water but no heat or light. "I want to go back. I was reading the policy by candlelight with the water pouring in and it seems to exclude flooding."

Forecast, page 20



Boat trip: police and soldiers using dinghies to rescue victims of the Tay flood on North Muirton estate.

French sue over flower champagne

By ROBIN YOUNG

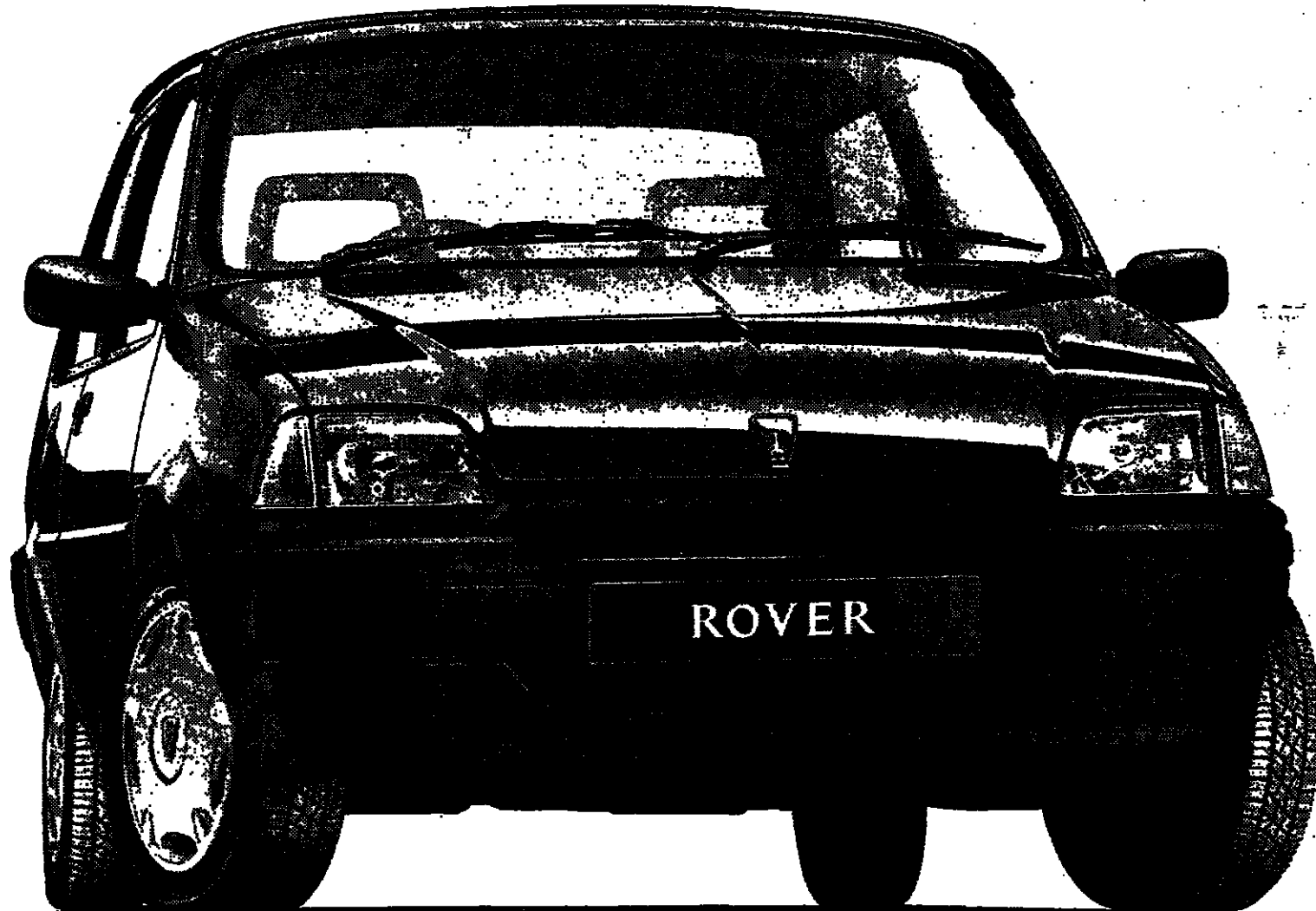
NOT only was British elderflower champagne not champagne, a High Court judge was told yesterday, but it was not even wine. A representative group of French champagne producers, led by the house of Taittinger, want to ban a small English vineyard from marketing a carbonated drink made with elderflowers and citric acid as "elderflower champagne".

In small print, the label describes the British product as a "natural non-alcoholic sparkling refreshment." But Charles Sparrow QC, for the champagne interests, claimed that customers with no specialist knowledge of wine might still be deceived into thinking that the elderflower drink shared some of champagne's prestige and reputation.

Dr Guy Woodall, his wife Sheila and his partner Ray Bevan, of Thorncroft Vineyard, near Leatherhead, Surrey, claim that elderflower champagne is a traditional British drink with four centuries of history behind it. The case continues today.

Leading article, page 17

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ROVER METRO

Relatives support coma pregnancy

The family of the teenager found to be pregnant after spending a month in a coma have asked doctors to allow her pregnancy to continue. The parents and boy friend of Melanie Douglas, 19, who was knocked down by a car as she crossed a road near her home in Birmingham, say that they want the baby to have every chance of life as long as it does not interfere with Miss Douglas's recovery.

Michael Maloney, consultant obstetrician at Good Hope Hospital, Birmingham, said that he was happy to let the eight-week pregnancy continue. "There are no ethical difficulties," he said that there was nothing to prevent the baby from being normal as it had not suffered oxygen starvation after the accident. It could be delivered by Caesarean section after 28 weeks.

Doctors said at a press conference yesterday that Miss Douglas had shown signs of recovery in the past two weeks but still had only a 50-50 chance. She has been transferred from the intensive care unit to a general ward, where she is breathing normally and being fed through a drip.

WPC jailed for theft

A policewoman who stole £560 from a suspect's home was jailed for 15 months yesterday. WPC Karen Clowes was searching the bedroom of Jonathan Evans, 20, after his arrest on suspicion of drugs offences when she found the cash in a jacket. Stafford Crown Court was told. Clowes took the money and, after spending £10 on petrol, put the rest into her building society account, the prosecution said. However, when Mr Evans was released without charge he complained to the police about the missing money. Clowes, of Packmoor, Staffordshire, at first claimed the money was hers, but in court she admitted theft and attempting to pervert the course of justice.

Coach joyrider on tour

A teenager donned a driver's uniform and tricked bus managers into giving him a £140,000 coach. Robert Hamill drove the National Express Rapide "impeccably" on a two-day, 400-mile trip from Bristol to Poole, Basingstoke, London, Oxford and Birmingham, Bristol magistrates were told yesterday. Hamill, 19, also fooled a depot to get 72 gallons of fuel. "He even ate with drivers in depot canteens," the court was told. Hamill, unemployed, of Wells, Somerset, abandoned the coach in Exeter. He admitted taking the coach, stealing a blazer, driving while disqualified and without insurance and obtaining diesel by deception. Sentence was postponed for medical reports.

'Miss Whiplash' hunt

Police called in a helicopter to search for Lindi St Clair, right, the self-styled Miss Whiplash and leader of the Corrective party, after her hire car was found abandoned at Beachy Head, East Sussex. Two searches proved fruitless after a policeman noticed the empty Jaguar. Sussex police said the area was notorious for suicides. "That is why this is being treated as a missing person."



Oxford drugs sentence

A classics student at Oxford was sentenced to four months' youth custody yesterday after a court was told that he had been a big supplier of drugs to fellow students. Adam Partridge, 19, described as academically gifted, was stopped by police after collecting £1,000 of cannabis from a supplier in Cheltenham. More cannabis was found in his room at Christ Church, Partridge, whose parents live at Hilles, Gloucestershire, admitted possessing cannabis resin on June 13 last year with intent to supply. His barrister, Sarah Gibbons, told Oxford Crown Court: "He became involved during his first three terms because so many other students were doing the same thing."

Marchioness ruling

Relatives of five victims of the Marchioness riverboat tragedy in which 51 people died in 1989 were given approval by a High Court judge to seek a new inquest. Mr Justice Popplewell said there was at least an arguable case that Dr Paul Knapman, the Westminster coroner, was biased in deciding last July not to resume the inquest.

Burns girl buried

Suzanne Capper, 16, who died after she was found wandering naked with severe burns, was buried yesterday. More than 100 people, including senior detectives involved in the case, attended the funeral at Blackley cemetery, Manchester. Six people aged between 16 and 28 have been charged with her kidnap and murder.

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Experts support a return to basics and grouping children according to ability

Patten pledges more reforms to boost primary school results

By JOHN O'LEARY
EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

JOHN Patten, the education secretary, yesterday promised new reforms to raise standards in primary schools as two official reports called for a slimmer curriculum and more traditional teaching methods.

Mr Patten is writing to all 20,000 primary schools, asking them to consider eight areas of concern identified by inspectors and curriculum advisers. They include the grouping of children according to ability, more teaching in classes as a whole and more specialist teaching.

He has also accepted the advice of the National Curriculum Council, supported by the new inspection agency, Ofsted, that the scale and content of the primary curriculum should be reviewed. Both bodies consider that schools are overloaded and should concentrate on the basics of the nine compulsory subjects.

Ministers are concerned that primary school standards in most subjects have failed to improve in spite of the introduction of the national curriculum more than three years ago. School inspectors are to compile a progress report in 12 months' time.

Mr Patten will institute a five-year rolling review of national curriculum subjects. He said a "considered programme of curriculum evolution" was needed that would allow children to be stretched to their full potential without them or teachers being overwhelmed. "We must remember at all times our responsibilities to pupils. I do

A five-year review of the primary school curriculum will follow a return to more traditional methods in the classroom

not intend that the curriculum should require less of pupils or teachers."

Schools will be asked to reassess the time spent on the various aspects of the curriculum, increase the length of the school day where it is less than the government's recommended minimum, limit the number of activities taking place in classrooms at one time, and improve the planning of topic work. Teacher training will also be reformed to ensure that students are competent across the whole curriculum, as well as offering specialist expertise.

Teachers' unions and Opposition politicians welcomed the proposals to slim down the curriculum, but noted that Mr Patten had not committed himself to specific action and accused him of



Patten: new policy will not require less of pupils

intrusion on matters of professional judgment. David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, said: "Previous secretaries of state have understood that they have neither the expertise nor the wisdom to dictate to teachers how they should teach."

Ann Taylor, Labour education spokeswoman, said: "Constant chopping and changing by Mr Patten in line with the latest fanatical doctrine is creating chaos in our schools, a chaos designed to conceal the fact that after 13 years this Conservative government has failed to raise educational standards in primary schools. They blame everyone but themselves."

But Harry Greenwood, Conservative MP for Ealing North and a former headmaster, welcomed the end of mixed-ability teaching. "This was long overdue. It puts paid to an era of deep damage to this country and especially its children because of trendy methods of teaching which were useless."

Mr Patten's desire for more specialisation in primary schools ignored the fact that many schools were too small to have the necessary staff numbers, according to Doug McAvoy, general secretary of the National Union of Teachers.



Look and learn: a hydraulics lesson yesterday at St Mary's school, London W1, and, below, the school in 1947



Advisers admit curriculum fails to provide broad education

GOVERNMENT advisers yesterday admitted that the national curriculum for primary schools is overloaded and leaves too little time for the broad education that young children need (John O'Leary writes).

Teachers will be encouraged to group pupils according to ability and replace project work with a more emphasis on separate subjects. Courses in teacher training will be adapted to ensure that students can cover the full range of subjects while also specialising in a particular area.

However, the main reform proposed by the National Curriculum Council (NCC) and Ofsted, the new

school inspection agency, will slim down the amount of work schools are required to complete. The two bodies disagree on the extent of the reduction in content, but both judge that better teaching alone would not enable schools to cope.

The NCC considered dropping some subjects from the curriculum, but agreed instead to concentrate on the basics of each area. Although the inspectors doubt the need to reduce the scope of all subjects, the NCC will review each of the nine.

English and technology, which are already under review, will be the first subjects to be slimmed. David

Pascal, the council's chairman, refused to give a timescale to amend the whole curriculum, but John Patten, the education secretary, promised a five-year programme.

Mr Pascal said teachers generally supported the curriculum but considered it was "too complex and overprescriptive" in practice. "As a consequence, depth of learning is being sacrificed in pursuit of breadth and the lack of rigour and challenge is not resulting in the necessary improvements in standards."

The national curriculum had never been intended to occupy the

whole school week, but teachers were finding that even this was not sufficient to cover the required ground. Mr Pascal said that an immediate review of all subjects was impossible and would not be favoured by primary teachers.

The NCC considered the case for a longer school day, but decided that this was not appropriate for primary schools. It proposed only that the 28 per cent of schools teaching less than the recommended minimum should increase their teaching time.

The council's report said that classroom organisation, curriculum planning, teacher knowledge and

support were not adequate to deliver the national curriculum in primary schools. Guidance will be issued soon on the most efficient use of classroom time.

Professor Stewart Sutherland, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools and head of Ofsted, said there were growing concerns about what many perceived as an "overloaded" national curriculum. Ofsted had found that, while most primary teachers devoted sufficient time to literacy and numeracy, this time was not always well used.

Some schools had a much more difficult task than others in securing

pupils' success in learning the basic skills. Ofsted found "very real concern felt by heads and teachers over the challenges of the national curriculum", Professor Sutherland said.

Ofsted and the NCC favour a return to more whole-class teaching, instead of individual or group teaching, and a clearer focus in the topic work that still occupies much of the time in many primary schools. The Ofsted report says: "The vast majority of primary schools remain firmly committed to grouping aspects of different subjects together to be taught as 'topics'."



Troops in Bosnia 'save lives'

Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, said there would be many more deaths in Bosnia if British troops escorting aid convoys were withdrawn.

During Commons questions, he said that the troops had so far escorted about 150 relief convoys, carrying a total of 12,000 tonnes of supplies.

He denied claims by Michael Meacher, shadow overseas development minister, that aid was "a mere stop-gap cosmetic" until the consequences of the war were confronted. Mr Hurd replied: "Relief supplies are not a cosmetic to people living in a village or town cut off for many months, who depend on those supplies for the question of whether they and their children will be alive in two or three weeks."

Major bill

The total cost of running the prime minister's office during the last financial year was £8,663,758. John Major said in a written reply. The cost of his travel since coming to office in November 1990 and the end of last year was about £1,816,000, he said.

Somalia aid

Since the beginning of the present crisis in Somalia, Britain has committed £45.2 million of humanitarian assistance, Mark Lennox-Boyd, a Foreign Office minister, said in a written reply.

Extra lawyers

A further 202 lawyers were recruited to the Crown Prosecution Service last year, bringing the total to 2,141. Sir Derek Spencer, Solicitor General, said during Commons questions.

In Parliament

Commons (2.30): Questions: Employment; prime minister; European Communities (Amendment) Bill; committee stage continued. Lords (2.30): Social Security Bill and Welsh Language Bill, second readings.

Lawyers offer cuts to save legal aid

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

AN END to double-manning in the legal profession — the use of two lawyers where one could do the job — is recommended by the Law Society and Bar today in a last-ditch effort to dissuade the government from legal aid cuts.

Their joint proposals, which include making "uncooperative" litigants in divorce proceedings pay costs for causing delays, will be outlined today in London at the annual conference of presidents and secretaries from local law societies.

The Law Society has calculated that the proposals would save the £43 million that the government intends to cut from the legal aid bill to meet Treasury targets in 1993-4. Lord Mackay of Clashfern, the Lord Chancellor, is proposing to save the money by restricting eligibility to legal aid from April.

The Bar and Law Society suggestions include a pay freeze for legal aid lawyers for 1992-3 in spite of the rise in overheads for the profession. It is estimated this would save £15 million.

The double-manning clampdown includes an end to paying a solicitor or solicitor's clerk to attend court with a

barrister on most legal aid cases. This would save about £9.1 million on criminal cases, £3 million on family actions and £2 million in civil cases. Removing the need to pay for a junior barrister as well as a QC in a substantial number of legal aid cases would save about £1 million.

About £2m would be saved by the proposal to impose financial penalties on legal aid matrimonial litigants where there is "clear evidence that they are adopting an uncooperative approach to their divorce or separation proceedings", lengthening the process and increasing costs.

Yesterday Andrew Lockley, a senior Law Society official, said: "There have been continuing talks between the profession and government officials and they have invited us to put forward our own proposals for savings. It is a more complex package and will lead to a reorganisation in the service for the consumer, but it won't lead to the abolition of the service altogether which the government proposals will."

The Lord Chancellor's department said it would consider seriously the lawyers' proposals but was not "reconsidering any of our own".

MPs tell ministers to make anonymous donations public

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MINISTERS have been told to declare all anonymous donations in future after the row over the £18,000 payment by an unknown Tory benefactor towards Norman Lamont's legal fees for evicting a "sex therapist" from his house.

The report did not directly censure Mr Lamont for not disclosing the payment in the MPs' register of interests, but it said an MP was unwise to accept such benefits.

Mr Lamont's interpretation of the rules, the committee report concluded, was tenable and it did not recommend any further action. Mr Lamont had told the committee that, since he did not know the source or sources of the donation, it could not influence him. The committee disagreed.

"The committee is of the view that anonymous donations have the potential to be more compromising to members acting in the public interest than gifts from identified sources," the report said. "Prudence suggests that an MP should not normally accept a gift or benefit proffered anonymously."

The committee investigated complaints from three Labour

MPs about the £18,414 contribution to Mr Lamont's legal bill from Peter Carter-Ruck for the eviction case. The remaining £4,700 of the bill was paid by the Treasury.

Further embarrassment faces the government over the Lamont case when the Commons public accounts committee questions Treasury officials tomorrow about the decision to sanction the £4,700.

Throughout the members' interests committee's short response to the committee's report, the MPs made plain their anxiety at what amounts to a loophole in the rules which do not cover anonymous donations and payments out of



Lamont: no direct censure in report

central party funds. They indicated that Mr Lamont should have cleared the financial help with the registrar.

The registration rules make no mention of money given to MPs from their political party. The committee does not want all such donations to be exempt in future because party organisations could bypass the register and become channels for conveying favours to individual MPs.

The Lamont case also exposes the blurred line between rules governing MPs and ministers. The committee, chaired by Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, said that the rules on what ministers can receive do not exempt them from declaring financial interests.

Most ministers have "nil" entries in the register as they are required to give up the bulk of their outside interests on taking office. The committee said a clear distinction could not be made between an MP's work as a minister and as an MP. Ministers should thus be subject to rules for the registration of interests in exactly the same way as other MPs.

House of Commons select committee on Members' Interests (Stationery Office, £3.50)

MPs back subsidy to save pits

By JULI SHERMAN
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PROPOSALS to save up to 21 pits by increasing the coal market by between 15 and 25 million tonnes through a £5-a-tonne levy are recommended in a draft report from an all-party committee of MPs.

The Commons trade and industry select committee will spend the next three days studying the report but it is understood that most members agree that at least 15 pits could be saved with varied degrees of government intervention.

The draft report, which has been approved by Richard Caborn, the Labour chairman, was sent to all committee members over the weekend. The final report, due to be published on January 29, is expected to put further pressure on the government to renege a substantial number of the 31 pits threatened with closure.

The report is understood to recommend switching a proportion — about £350 million — of the £1.2 billion nuclear levy to coal, to help subsidise cheaper coal prices in the short term and to increase coal contracts.

Opaque Smith clouds EC issue

THE pro-Europeans in the Labour party are stirring. They are jittery about whether the party is in danger of undermining its European credentials as the Maastricht bill meanders its way through the Commons.

It is a measure of the issue's sensitivity that prominent pro-EC backbenchers were yesterday carrying around copies of John Smith's speech in Paris last Friday urging a relaxation in the treaty's budget deficit rules. They scrutinised every detail to see whether there had been any shift in policy. They were reassured; the speech was "all right".

Unlike 20 years ago, when most of the party opposed membership, the majority now supports Maastricht, with the addition of the social chapter. The snag is that Tory splits are an irresistible target.

as was highlighted in the convoluted arguments used by Mr Smith in the "paving" debate last November.

The pro-Europeans argue that the short-term desire to give the government a rough ride may conflict with the party's long-term support for closer European integration. Following the Edinburgh summit, more than 90 MPs, excluding members of the shadow cabinet but including Neil Kinnock and Gerald Kaufman, signed a motion backing the treaty as the best available. Many believe that Labour should not artificially prolong Commons discussion by tacitly co-operating with the Tory Euro-skeptics. These doubts came to a head last Thursday when Labour voted against the closure motion on an amendment which the party did not support — even after ten hours of debate. The parliamentary Labour party is to discuss tactics tomorrow.

Mr Smith has fuelled these worries by at times opaque

speech, he did not refer to sterling's re-entry into the exchange-rate mechanism (ERM), but called instead for an easing of the targets for reducing budget deficits to take account of the recession and capital investment. Progress towards economic and monetary union (EMU) must be preceded by real economic convergence rather than nominal monetary convergence. That can be seen as redefining the conditions for EMU in a way likely to be unacceptable to other EC countries.

The pro-Europeans fear that these comments and Mr Smith's ambiguity about what Labour will do on third readings have encouraged anti-Maastricht MPs. The Labour critics have sidled up to the need to attack the government, making the pro-EC MPs risk appearing disloyal and lukewarm. Underlying these arguments is a struggle for influence with Mr Smith between modernisers such as Gordon Brown and Tony Blair, the independent-minded Robin Cook and traditionalists such as John Prescott.

Don't worry, the Smith camp says. The Labour leader remains true to his long-standing support for the EC. He will resist pressure to switch policy to back a referendum. He has not altered his view about the desirability of a single currency; all he has been doing is to recognise the lesson from the forced ERM withdrawal that the economy must be strengthened.

Mr Smith may not have changed his views, but he risks sending conflicting signals. As one of the 69 Labour MPs who defied the party whip to vote for the principle of EC entry in 1971, he knows the dangers that a stable group of his own MPs, including possibly Mr Kinnock, might refuse to vote against the bill on third reading. Like Mr Major, it is in Mr Smith's interests to get the Maastricht bill quickly out of the way.

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How MI5 charm school reassured discreet MPs

By SHEILA GUNN
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE high-speed car chase through the grey streets of central London had all the elements of a spy thriller: six MPs arrived at the members' entrance in the House of Commons and piled into two cars ready for a luncheon appointment.

Despite the best efforts of Commons police officers, as they pulled away from the House a stream of cars and motorcycles bristling with the paraphernalia of the modern media quickly latched on to their tail. Shaking off the seasoned press

corp in full pursuit of the unmentionable, the cars dropped into a drab underground car park in Bloomsbury: beneath the headquarters of MI5. At that point reality stops and fantasy takes over.

The operation was the much-publicised meeting between the MPs, all members of the Commons home affairs committee, and Stella Rimington, director general of MI5, an organisation which, until recently, was never officially said to exist.

The working lunch was a compromise, reluctantly conceded by Kenneth Clarke, the home secretary, who had refused to allow Mrs

Rimington to appear before the committee in the Commons. Even so, the committee recommended last week that it should have the power to scrutinise MI5's policies, administration and expenditure.

The MPs were Sir Ivan Lawrence, Dame Jill Knight and John Greenway on the Tory side and Chris Mullin, Barbara Roche and Mike O'Brien on the Labour side.

On good authority it is understood that the MPs, Mrs Rimington and two of her officials ate smoked salmon, lamb, cutlets, reform, duchesse potatoes, tossed salad, followed by soufflé Monte Cristo, and

drank wine and coffee. The MPs raised the bugging of members of the Royal Family, as alleged in the so-called Camillagate affair, but by the time they emerged, the MPs had obviously learnt a few lessons and agreed "a line". Every inch a Tory barstard, Sir Ivan divulged that "we were charmed and reassured".

The MPs and hacks conceded later that they had not enjoyed themselves so much for ages. Politics has become dismal since the general election. They are unlikely to find so much fun in future. MI5 is moving to headquarters in Thames House, Millbank, a stone's throw from Parliament.

Iraq conflict blots out Islamic clamour for Bosnia arms aid



Izetbegovic made plea for guns in Senegal

BY ROGER BOYES
EAST EUROPE
CORRESPONDENT

THE roar and the rattle of war in Iraq has drowned out the threats from some Islamic states which until last week seemed on the brink of shipping guns to Bosnia and perhaps changing the military balance in the Balkans.

Quietly the Islamic deadline, that was set for January 15, has slipped away unnoticed. The reasons for the retreat explain a great deal about the uncertainties and self-doubts in the Islamic world. The Islamic Conference Organisation has shown itself to be a singularly uncoordinated body, magnifying rather than healing the divisions between Sunni and Shia

■ Muslim states are studying the allied strategy in Iraq. They think no-fly zones and bombing raids have little hope of success

Muslims, between modern and developing Arab states, between European and eastern Islamic powers. It does, however, provide a forum for reshuffling priorities and making temporary coalitions.

Something of this nature happened at last week's session of the organisation in Senegal. The conference began with an appeal for sophisticated weaponry from President Izetbegovic of Bosnia that was immediately supported by the Senegalese government. The organisation's deadline stipulated

that the Islamic states would consider changing or breaking the UN arms embargo on former Yugoslavia only if no progress was made on ending the killing in Bosnia.

But two developments put the ultimatum in doubt. The Geneva peace talks came close to an accord that could be judiciously accepted by the Bosnian Muslims. A decision to ship guns to Bosnia now would jeopardise Serbian approval of the Geneva deal and the Islamic states would be branded as warmongers. It was therefore politic to hang

fire. Second, Islamic governments received information that America and its allies were preparing military operations against Iraq. This demanded that the three key organisation players — Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey — should close ranks and support the allied intervention.

Yet, it is precisely the rivalry between Turkey and Iran for influence in the Balkans and Central Asia that is driving the Islamic debate on arming Bosnia. Despite angry newspaper commentaries in the Middle East, there is probably even less grassroots support for armed action in Bosnia than in Western Europe.

The dynamic is solely competitive, with Turkey and Saudi Arabia determined to take the lead in helping the Bosni-

an Muslims and determined, too, to reduce the role of Iran. That is why the issue of Bosnian arms shipments has been put on the back burner until the allied intervention in Iraq is complete. Moreover, none of the leading Islamic states sees any merit in committing itself to a Bosnian policy before the new US administration has defined its position. Some members of Bill Clinton's national security team are known to be in favour of repealing the UN arms embargo.

The bombing raids on Iraq have also raised questions about the efficacy of an intervention in Bosnia. First, the limited success of the raids has put an end to the idea that there is such a thing as a "surgical strike". Air interven-

tion in Bosnia, even more than in Iraq, will cause large numbers of casualties, including civilians. That would be politically explosive in the Balkans.

Second, the "no-fly" zone over Iraq is operating in almost optimal conditions and yet has failed to deter Iraqi repression of the Kurds in the north and the Shias in the south. The complexity of policing the no-fly zone over Bosnia is beginning to dawn even on those American planners who were at first willing to deploy jets. A no-fly zone without a substantial contingent of ground troops would probably not be able to provide the necessary protective mantle for the Bosnian Muslims. Planes could destroy Serb artillery emplacements and airfields,

disrupt supply routes and communications centres. The patchwork map worked out at Geneva shows how intermingled the different ethnic populations will remain in Bosnia.

The operations against Iraq have not destroyed the case for a Bosnian no-fly zone, but they have highlighted its potential difficulties. Turkey and many other key Islamic states seem thus to be coming to the conclusion that arming the Bosnian Muslims cannot be a policy in isolation: it must be co-ordinated and thought through as part of a comprehensive strategy with the West. Whether Iran will be satisfied with this for long is an open question. There are already hints that Iranian businessmen are preparing arms deliveries to Bosnian Muslims.

Peace process threatened

British troops take cover as Croats and Muslims battle

BY ADAM LEBOR IN KISELJAK, CENTRAL BOSNIA, AND TOM RHODES

ON THE eve of a key Serbian vote on the Geneva peace process, the British United Nations army base at Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia was in a state of alert yesterday as heavy fighting between previously allied Croat and Muslim forces intensified on its perimeter.

The several hundred British troops at the base donned flak-jackets and helmets before moving into protected areas. No one was allowed out as the rival sides opened fire at each other with a barrage of machinegun and mortar fire.

General Sir John Waters, the commander-in-chief of UK land forces, was to have visited the base at 12.30pm yesterday but did not arrive. Although the base was not coming under direct fire and British officers have been involved in repeated attempts at mediation in this latest bout of interethnic strife, troops are only too aware of the dangers confronting them.

This awareness was heightened by the death last week of Lance Corporal Wayne John Edwards. More the Hero, the local Croat army fighting in Bosnia, has its headquarters just yards away from the

British base and there are growing fears that stray shell or bullet rounds could land inside the perimeter.

Previously united against a common foe, but now apparently provoked by the peace process itself, the Croats and Muslims have turned against each other over the past week in a battle for territorial control. Croatian Defence Council forces have sought to tighten their grip on areas to the west and south of Sarajevo since these are designated as Croat-controlled in the map presented to the Geneva peace conference last week.

Bosnian Serbs meet today in the town of Pale, east of Sarajevo, to debate the terms of the peace initiative, which proposes the setting up of ten autonomous provinces within a sovereign Bosnia. Bosnia's Muslim-led government has spurned the Geneva map for giving the least land to the largest ethnic group and a disproportionate share to Serbs and Croats.

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, has endorsed the plan and has said he will resign if it is not approved today, the last day before a European Commu-



ity deadline for acceptance pending the imposition of unspecified UN action.

In any event, raging battles throughout the region have all but overshadowed talk of peace. Fighting between Muslims and Serbs in eastern Bosnia in the past week spilled across Bosnia's border into Serbia itself at the weekend in what Belgrade said was a provocation designed to wreck the peace efforts.

At the weekend the Croatian Defence Council ordered Muslim units in the two proposed Croat cantons, west and south of Sarajevo, to place themselves under Croatian command. But this was swiftly countermanded by Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Bosnian Muslim army,

who ordered all units "to solely obey the orders of the supreme staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army" and not to obey those he described as Croat "extremists".

Fierce fighting again raged yesterday in the Skelani area of eastern Bosnia, along the Drina river border with Serbia. Tanjug, the Belgrade-based news agency, said Bosnian Serb reinforcements had forced some of the attacking Muslim forces back to positions from where they launched a pre-dawn offensive on Saturday. Some shells landed on the town of Bajina Basta, across the river in Serbia, during the fighting.

Tanjung said a fierce battle was going on in an area where Serb units, although surrounded, were offering strong resistance. It added that a fresh push would be made to reach the trapped troops. The agency added that at least 46 people had been killed and more than 150 wounded in the clashes around Skelani.

By contrast, the ravaged city of Sarajevo enjoyed a quiet night with only its western frontline suburb of Dobrinja coming under artillery attack from the surrounding hills.



Piece of mind: packers preparing *The Thinker* yesterday in the garden of the Rodin Museum in Paris for a trip to China after a huge crane had hoisted the 6ft, 1,500lb bronze sculpture into place. The work, by Auguste Rodin, later began its first ever journey out of France. It will be shown in the People's Republic with 112

other works in the first retrospectives there of the 19th-century French sculptor. The exhibitions, organised by the French association for artistic action, will run at the fine arts palace in Peking from February 15 to March 14 and in Shanghai from March 27 to April 18. The exhibits will later be shown in Hong Kong and Taiwan. (AP)

Corsican retreats attacked

Nice: Rival separatist gangs blew up or firebombed 40 holiday homes on Corsica at the weekend. Police said most of the properties belonged to French and foreign visitors (Tony Koca writes).

The clandestine Resistenza movement yesterday claimed responsibility for attacks in Bonifacio and Porto-Vecchio. In the north, smoke-blackened properties were doused with the initials of the National Front for the Liberation of Corsica.

Avalanche toll

Antara: Nine bodies were recovered after an avalanche hit Ozengil village in the north-western Turkish province of Bayburt. Hamdi Akurk, the headman, said 61 people were feared trapped. (Reuters)

Danes polled

Copenhagen: Danes seem likely to back the Maastricht treaty in a second referendum to be held this spring. A survey published in the *Boersen* daily indicated that 56 per cent intend to vote "yes", 30 per cent to vote "no". (Reuters)

Planes hit

Moscow: Four Azerbaijani planes were reported shot down in fresh fighting between Armenia and Azerbaijan. North Ossetia and Ingushetia, which have been at war since October, have agreed to start peace talks.

Escobar move

Medellin: Pablo Escobar, the Colombian drug baron on the run from a luxury prison since July, says in a letter that he is creating a guerrilla group, the "Antioquia Rebel", named after his home province, to fight the government. (AFP)



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Business enterprise thrives in Lvov

Executive class learns how to manage

AT the headquarters of LV Holding, the telephones are ringing, people are running up and down the hallways. Gone are the bored secretaries, the under-employed clerks and the clean desks which marked the offices of a Soviet state enterprise.

Three well-dressed thugs look in your handbag: "Security," they mumble.

But LV Holding has little in common with most of the other companies that call themselves "private" in Ukraine — the workshops, the grocery stores, the marketplace kiosks. Although based in Lvov, a provincial city, LV Holding has connections. Earlier this year, LV Holding gave a party. Pop singers and sports stars arrived from Moscow in a chartered military airplane; champagne and caviar were served; 600,000 roubles were dispersed to Ukrainian orphans. And that was the beginning of LV Holding's problems with the Lvov city government. Local leaders, especially didn't like the chairman, a local journalist recalls. "Here was this Armenian, not even from Lvov, who could do so much for the city that they could themselves."

I had met one of Levon Enokyan's vice-presidents: he raged against the local elected politicians. "Flotsam and jetsam," he called them, "men thrown up by accident." How poorly they compared to his boss, a man of substance. "He may not have an economic education and perhaps is not... a diplomat, but he is a genius. A business genius."

In her second article on Ukraine, Anne Applebaum encounters a capitalist whom bureaucrats regard as a jumped-up opportunist

Mr Enokyan's office was lined with Turkish carpets. The chairman sat at a big oak desk, wearing an expensive suit, a heavy gold watch, gold bracelets and fine shoes. "Mafia! I hate that word," Mr Enokyan shouted. "Mafia! Whenever something in this country goes wrong, these nationalists need someone to blame. First they blamed the communists. Then the communists left. Now they blame us, new businessmen. Am I responsible for the bread queues? No." He leaned back. The telephone rang. He picked it up, barked an order, and put it down again. "What else can I do for you?" he asked, suddenly polite. "Coffee? Tea? Cognac?"

Mr Enokyan says that he did begin business illegally, in what Ukrainians call the shadow economy. In the days when private business was banned, he got involved in underground manufacturing and trade. Few considered such activity to be criminal. Underground entrepreneurs were pillars of the Soviet system, distributing goods where the state failed to do so. And when Mikhail Gorbachev legalised co-operative enterprises, he and a partner opened a restaurant and a shop which sold goods on commission.



Business boomed — in the eyes of some, suspiciously quickly. LV Holding, which now controls 12 companies, has a monthly turnover of over 1.1 billion Ukrainian coupons (£1,420,000) which is a lot of money for a private company to have in a city where the average monthly salary is about 5,000 coupons (£6). LV Holding buys goods abroad and sells them in Ukraine, trades steel and textiles across what used to be the Soviet Union, holds interests in dollar shops, casinos and hotels.

People who survive on tiny state salaries are envious. Small businessmen tell how every licence, shop rental, or planning permission costs heavily in bribes, and say that Mr Enokyan must be paying someone really big. In Ukraine, most people believe no one could have invested that kind of money except criminals or former communists.

Not everyone cares. Con-

fronted with such gossip, one lawyer who deals with Mr Enokyan just shrugs. "Wherever the money came from, it now goes into investments, it improves people's lives. He is a good businessman, that is what matters." Nor is there any proof of wrongdoing. A few months ago, the local government began auditing the company's accounts; they were, it was whispered, looking for evidence of laundered criminal money. So far, they have found nothing.

Still, in a small town, rumours stick. LV Holding began to appear in the newspapers. Not long ago, Stepan Davymyky, President Kravchuk's representative in Lvov, called the company a "mafia structure".

"When there are new structures and bad laws, it is natural that there should be this kind of problem," Mr Davymyky told me. "This is a very dangerous time for us."

"We must prevent these kind of people from gaining power."

"Mafia," said Mr Enokyan, when I told him what Mr Davymyky had said. "It means that we are competition for them, and they don't like it."

The battle is a typical one in Lvov and probably in many other post-Soviet cities. New businessmen do not emerge in this part of the world, wearing Savile Row suits and abiding by unwritten ethical codes.

Anne Applebaum is foreign editor of *The Spectator* and winner of the Times Charles Douglas-Horne Memorial Award.

مركز الامم المتحدة

Hong Kong team urges Britain to reopen China talks

By DAVID WAITS

WITH Sino-British contacts over Hong Kong at a dead end, a delegation of members from the colony's Legislative Council has arrived in Britain to persuade the government of the need to resume talks.

The next scheduled meeting with Chinese officials is expected in March or April when Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, is to travel to Peking. A senior Chinese diplomat in London told *The Times*, however, that China had no interest in that meeting going ahead unless Chris Patten, the Hong Kong governor, withdraws his proposals for more democracy.

The diplomat said: "Mr Patten must withdraw these proposals. Britain's approach between now and March will determine whether or not the March meeting goes ahead." The Patten proposals, he said, were causing division and confrontation between the people of Hong Kong. Even in terms of Chinese proposals, it would be possible for Hong Kong to have a fully elected legislature by 2007, depending on earlier Legislative Council elections.

Ronald Arzuffi, one of the delegation leaders, said yesterday that he did not seek to

have the Patten proposals withdrawn but to emphasise to Britain that most Hong Kong people wanted to see co-operation between Britain and China over the colony resume as soon as possible. He declared: "People are telling us, 'I can't live with this bombardment going on right over our heads for the next four years.' It's longer a question of the package, it's a question of resuming dialogue."

The delegation will see a range of government figures and peers, including John Major and Mr Hurd. Mr Arzuffi, pointing out that Hong Kong's Basic Law had been approved by the Chinese People's Assembly in April 1990, said he believed Mr Patten had been badly advised on the possible Chinese response to his proposals. "His advisers gave him a less than accurate assessment of what the Chinese reaction was going to be," he said.

Howard Young, another delegate, said: "I think he's not getting the best advice."

Last week in Hong Kong, the governor's proposals to broaden democracy were boosted when the Legislative Council overwhelmingly rejected an attempt to withdraw

the plan. The council, Hong Kong's mini-parliament, voted 35-2, with 15 abstentions and seven members not present, against the motion by Philip Wong, a pro-China member. Many legislators had serious reservations about the motion, coming weeks before the council is to debate the Patten package, which they thought was untimely and unnecessary. It was the third time the council had demonstrated support for Mr Patten's reforms.

Mr Arzuffi and Mr Young, who represent the Co-operative Resources Centre, state in a position paper: "Already the confrontational attitude adopted by both sides has caused unease, worry and even fear in our community. The uncertainty generated by the controversy over our political future, which all but disappeared after the promulgation of the Basic Law in 1990, has been resurrected."

"The community is polarised by emotional debate and division. This has dealt a serious blow to the confidence that domestic and foreign investors have in our future. It has also had an unsettling effect on one of our crucial stabilising factors, the Civil Service, which is understandably more directly affected by the attitude of the two sovereign states."

"Hong Kong finds itself in the unenviable position of being squeezed in the middle. If the situation persists, the people will be forced to choose sides. This is clearly against the interest of Hong Kong and the interests of Britain and China," the paper said.

Ma Yuzhen, the Chinese ambassador in London, said last week: "China has confidence in the long-term future of Hong Kong. China is committed to the one-country, two-systems concept."

"We do have a problem with the governor at the moment. It's not a question of dem-



Patten: colony council clearly backs reforms

ocracy or how far democracy should be developed there, it's a question of whether the original agreement will be implemented, it's a question of honouring words and commitments. That is the question that we regard as of principal importance, so we are not able to make any concessions."

"Even though China, of course, needs Hong Kong as far as our economy is concerned, Hong Kong also depends on China to a very large extent. Increasingly, as China develops economically, I think that Hong Kong will need China more than China needs Hong Kong. We are confident that the Hong Kong people, particularly business people, know how to act rightly in their own interests at this critical moment when we have differences between China and Britain."



Pilgrims' special: an overcrowded train ferries devotees home from the town of Tongi in Bangladesh yesterday after a three-day annual event known as Biswa Ijtema. The Islamic world's second largest gathering after the Haj in Mecca drew about one million Muslims this year

Rao brings in new team to fend off critics

By CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN DELHI AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

■ The upheaval in India shows no sign of abating. The prime minister hopes new blood in the cabinet will save his leadership

IN AN attempt to fend off potential challenges to his leadership, P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Indian prime minister, has reshuffled his cabinet and junior ministerial team after demanding the resignation of the previous government on Saturday night.

Mr Rao has been criticised even by some of his closest supporters for his lacklustre performance since the Ayodhya mosque was torn down by Hindu zealots on December 6. They have lost faith in his ability to pull the country out of its difficulties. Newspapers normally loyal to his Congress (I) party have also criticised him for failing to offer leadership during last week's rioting in Bombay.

The prime minister has excluded from his new cabinet any ministers regarded as allied to his principal rivals. Time appears to be running out for him to pull the Congress (I) party together. If he fails he will almost certainly have to face a leadership challenge later this year. He will shortly announce an overhaul of the party's hierarchy, a move also designed to consolidate his position.

Mr Rao faces some daunting problems. The country's economy has been disrupted by weeks of political upheaval, throwing his economic reform programme into doubt, and the hardline Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) says it is preparing a campaign to paralyse all government business in four northern states that it used to control — Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

That would be a further economic catastrophe for India. Bookings by foreign tourists have already collapsed, representing a huge loss of foreign exchange. And most export companies are failing to meet delivery dates because of the violence and curfews.

Muslim members of the cabinet have been upset by Mr Rao's failure to protect their people, who have borne the brunt of rioting in Ahmedabad, Bombay and several areas in the Hindi-speaking northern heartland. He has

failed in attempts to pull together a loose alliance of anti-BJP parties to fight the rise of extremism, reflecting the Congress party's declining political authority.

Nor is there a sign of any end to the violence. Terrified families in Bombay's suburbs have stockpiled knives, swords, petrol and acid bottles to defend their homes from any renewed outbreak of Hindu-Muslim bloodshed, residents there said yesterday.

In the wake of the rioting in the city of 12 million inhabitants, in which at least 500 people died, troops and police have imposed calm, but tension remains high. "It's like an armed camp," said one resident in the suburb of Andheri. Communities have formed

watches to guard the areas where they live at night, putting floodlights on tall buildings to be able to spot possible attackers approaching. Some gangs have demanded protection money.

At night young men armed with hockey sticks, cricket stumps, soft-drink bottles and fluorescent tubes patrol the streets to deter intruders, particularly in Bombay's slums, which have borne the brunt of the recent attacks. Tens of thousands of people have fled the city and thousands more have taken refuge in schools, mosques and churches after cannot find milk and bread for their babies, what sort of normalcy is that we speak of?" he asked. He was arrested last night and taken to hospital

because of problems with his kidneys after he had refused to abandon his fast.

In refugee camps throughout the city, those who have fled their homes bewail the loss of all their possessions. "We were attacked by our own neighbours, people whom we have lived with for years and years," Shaikat Ali, 70, a shoemaker, said. Many Hindus who were not from Bombay also fled the bloodshed, returning to villages throughout the country.

Amid the horror of people being burnt alive in homes and cars set ablaze by rioters, however, stories are emerging of friendship and kind-heartedness. Hindu helping Muslim. "We found refuge with a Hindu neighbour as rioters broke into our home. Our Hindu friends protected us, gave us a change of clothes, some food, some money. They helped us escape..." said Asaf Ali, whose family of six left for Madras.

Japanese breach military taboo

FROM JOANNA PITMAN IN TOKYO

IN A move that appears to have taken Kiichi Miyazawa, the Japanese prime minister, by surprise, senior politicians of the ruling Liberal Democratic party are beginning to discuss openly the controversial question of revising Japan's constitution. This is an issue that for more than four decades has been confined to a mental twilight zone where wartime bogies are hidden in order to avoid confrontation.

Michio Watanabe, the foreign minister, currently completing a tour of European Community nations, yesterday called for a "revision of the constitution to allow Japan to take part in collective security operations". Hiroshi Miura, who is the leader of the party's largest faction, and regarded as a prime minister in waiting, has also robustly addressed the issue. Last week he proposed forming a parliamentary committee to debate reform of the US-written 1947 constitution.

Both men, and leaders of opposition parties also publicly allied to the cause, have hinted that the focus of reform should be an amendment to Article 9, which renounces the sovereign right to wage war. This would permit armed Japanese troops to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Tokyo's peacekeeping forces, currently involved in UN operations in Cambodia, are severely circumscribed by Article 9, confining them to non-military tasks such as road repair.

Tokyo has been stunned by global assertions that it seeks only economic gains from its foreign relations and keeps its distance from those conflagrations without economic bearing, most recently seen in criticism of its inertia during the Gulf war. Japan is hungry for Western, particularly American, approval.

Mr Miyazawa, who yesterday

completed a tour of Asian countries, appeared taken aback at the breach of the constitutional taboo in his absence. He said that "debate on a constitutional revision should not be turned into a political banner", and called on his outspoken colleagues to remember Japan's bitter wartime history. "Fifty years is a short period... we should not forget easily."

Older generations and associated left-wing groups and intellectuals regard themselves as guardians of the post-war constitution, and associate any moves to revise it with the fear that certain power centres might again lead Japan astray. But there is a growing body of opinion among the younger generations that craves respect from the rest of the world and is willing to pay for it.

A *Mainichi Shinbun* editorial asked at the weekend: "Why are Japan and the Japanese still unpopular, even though the Japanese government has distributed aid money all around Asia? Why does this country continue to be criticised as lacking good virtue?"

One commonly expressed solution is for Japan to become a permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council, a goal that the government has sought for years and, mindful of its large financial contribution to the UN, increasingly resents being denied.

Mr Watanabe believes that if Japan wants to become a permanent security council member, "it cannot avoid criticism that a country not participating in peacekeeping operations does not deserve the post."

Before any constitutional change could be made, Japan would have to go through years of ritual slogans, protests and ideological anguish.



Patten: colony council clearly backs reforms

cracy or how far democracy should be developed there, it's a question of whether the original agreement will be implemented, it's a question of honouring words and commitments. That is the question that we regard as of principal importance, so we are not able to make any concessions."

Sultans swing against losing power

By DAVID WAITS

THE House of Windsor may be feeling embattled, but might spare a thought for its Malaysian counterparts now in open conflict with the Kuala Lumpur government.

The Islamic guardians of the world's only elective monarchy — nine state rulers choose one of their number to be king in turn — have long been under pressure to reform lifestyles which are more akin to Monte Carlo than Mecca. Negotiations have been going on for months to make the sultans accountable for their actions in law, and to remove their capacity to pardon themselves.

Yesterday Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamed, the prime minister, made his last throw at persuading the rulers to yield to demands that he says are backed by the public. Apparently it had little effect and talks between the sultans and the



Mahathir: prepared for court battle with rulers

government broke off when Dr Mahathir yesterday put forward legislation to strip them of their powers. The next step appears to be legal action.

"We have had so many detailed discussions with them, and they have now decided to reject the pro-

posed amendments," the prime minister said after putting forward his bill in parliament. He added later: "The negotiating process seems to have been a waste. There was no meaning... if they dispute it, they can dispute in the court."

The sultans issued a statement after a Conference of Rulers meeting at the National Palace in Kuala Lumpur, saying no law ever introduced in Malaysia proposed "such radical changes with far-reaching consequences on the sovereignty of the Malay rulers. The basic sovereignty, prerogatives and the constitutional rights of the Malay rulers, as guaranteed by the federation, appeared to be infringed by the proposed law." The problem for Dr Mahathir is that the new law should be approved by a majority of the rulers.

The prime minister proposed amendments to the law after a school hockey coach alleged he had been assaulted by Sultan Mahmood Iskandar of Johore state. Sultan Mahmood, 60, is a former Malaysian king noted for his collection of Rolls-Royces, his enjoyment of Singapore nightclubs and a quick temper. He was convicted of manslaughter in 1978 but was pardoned by his father, then the sultan.

He returned to his state after the rulers' conference yesterday and said: "Thank God that the Conference of Rulers rejected the proposed amendments." The national Bernama news agency said that the sultan jubilantly gave thumbs-up and V-for-victory signs as he stepped out of his limousine to speak to a group of people at his palace in Johore Baru, across the causeway from Singapore.

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DEFENCE
Les Aspin (D-Wis), 54
Current job: Chairman, House Armed Services Committee
Connections: Campaign adviser on defence issues who helped Clinton prepare for debates



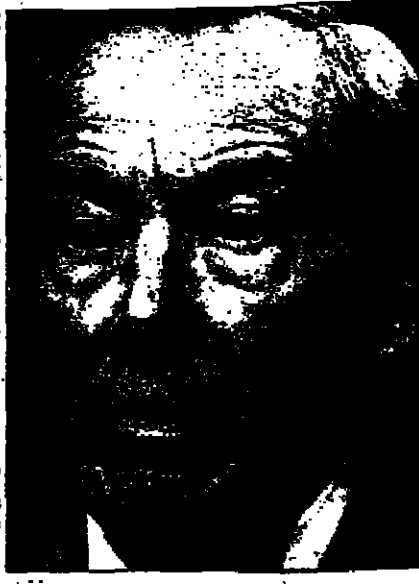
JUSTICE
Zoe Baird, 40
Current job: Vice-president and general counsel, Aetna Life & Casualty Co.
Connections: Suggested by her former law partner, Warren Christopher



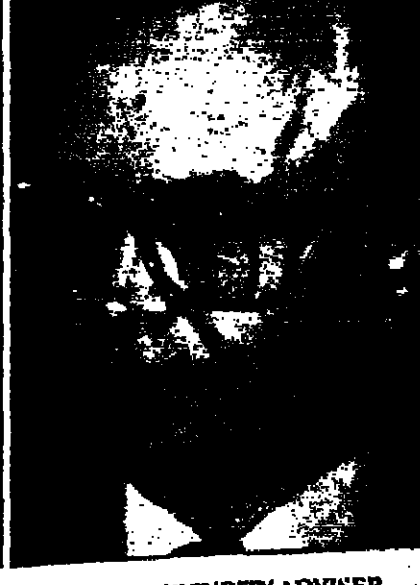
BUDGET
Leon Panetta (D-Calif), 54
Current job: Chairman, House Budget Committee
Connections: Leading budget expert in Congress; was Nixon civil rights director in Health



HEALTH
Donna Shalala, 51
Current job: Chancellor, University of Wisconsin at Madison
Connections: Longtime friend of Hillary Clinton; worked in Carter administration



SECRETARY OF STATE
Warren Christopher, 67
Current job: Chairman, O'Melveny & Myers, a law firm
Connections: Headed Clinton's vice-presidential search and transition team; Carter's deputy Secretary of State



NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER
Anthony Lake, 53
Current job: Professor, Holyoke College; a former
Connections: Senior foreign policy adviser to Clinton campaign; involved in trying to free US hostages in Iran

Recall of Carter old guard tests global policy resolve

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER
IN WASHINGTON

FOREIGN AND DEFENCE DEBATE

The American right is jittery about Washington's international posture being decided on by a pair of cabinet doves

THE Camp David accord apart, the American right considers the Carter era an inglorious episode in United States foreign policy, memorable principally for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and American impotence in the face of Iran's taunting.

Therefore, neo-conservatives are horrified that, at this moment of global turbulence, two of Bill Clinton's three senior foreign policy advisers were key players in the doctrine that was Mr Carter's State Department.

The world is waiting to see if Mr Clinton will use America's matchless military might to enforce its will in Iraq, Bosnia and other troublespots, but the president-elect has chosen Warren Christopher, Mr Carter's deputy Secretary of State, to head his old department, and Anthony Lake, Mr Carter's State Department policy planning chief, as National Security Adviser. Only the appointment of the hawkish Les Aspin as defence secretary cheered the new night.

Mr Christopher and Mr Lake were key members of Cyrus Vance's team before Mr Vance resigned after Mr Carter's aborted military mission in 1980 to free the 52 Ameri-

can hostages held in Iran. Their old mentor is now doing his utmost to end the Bosnian conflict through negotiations and to ward off Western military intervention.

In his memoirs, Mr Vance called Mr Christopher "truly my alter ego". Zbigniew Brzezinski, Mr Carter's National Security Adviser, recalled that the two men "preferred to litigate endlessly, to shy away from the unavoidable ingredient of force in dealing with contemporary international realities, and to have an excessive faith that all issues can be resolved by compromise". Mr Christopher's greatest accomplishment was ending the 44-day Iranian hostage crisis through negotiation.

Mr Christopher, 67, a Los Angeles lawyer, has a flair for caution and a rock-solid belief in negotiations, even penning a pamphlet entitled *Diplomacy: The Neglected Imperative*, but he now professes to have modified his views. In his Senate confirmation hearings last week, he allowed that "the

discreet and careful use of force in certain circumstances — and its credible threat in general — will be essential to the success of our diplomacy and foreign policy".

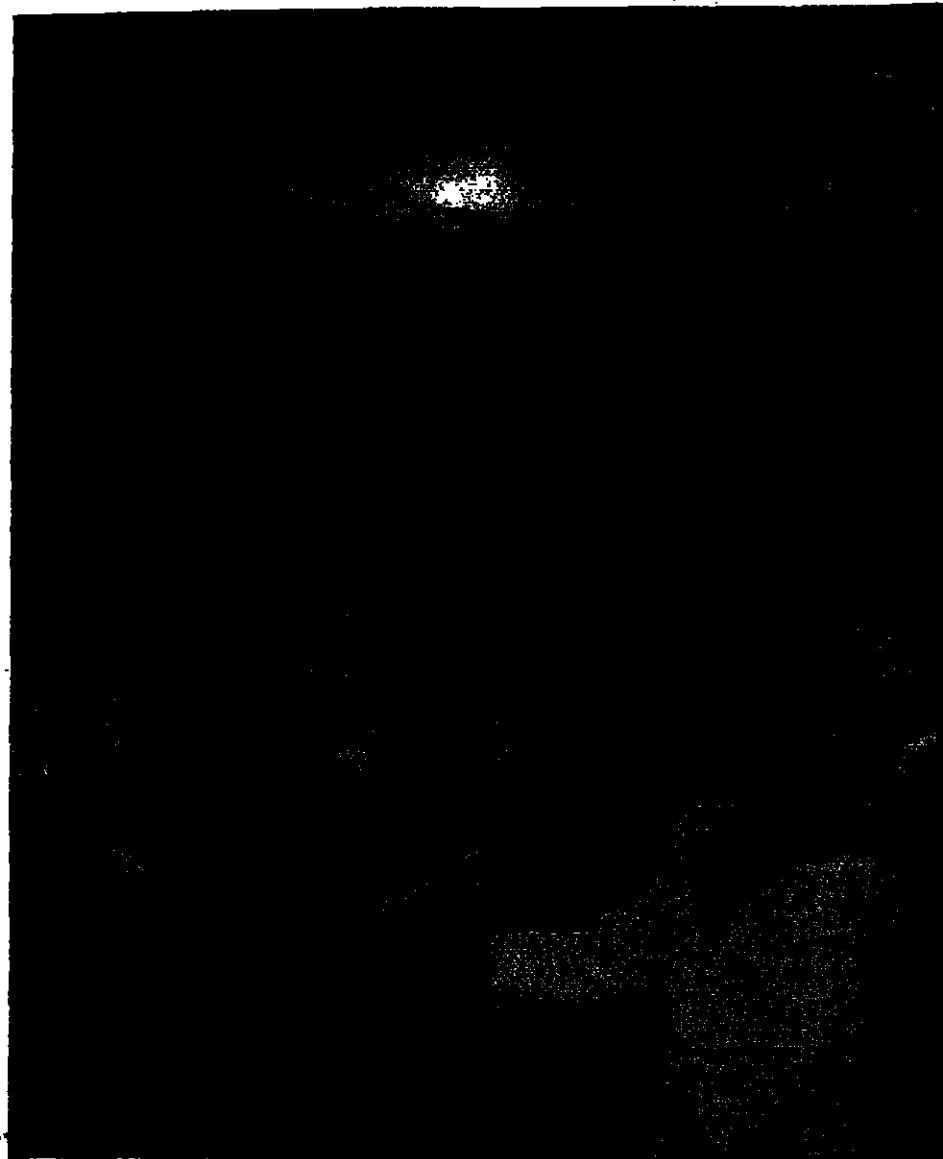
A professor of international relations, Mr Lake, 53, was the adviser who formulated Mr Clinton's campaign stance on Bosnia that was markedly more muscular than the Bush administration's. He suggested air strikes on Serb positions and selectively lifting the UN arms embargo. Mr Lake was at the heart of the great left-right ideological debates of the 1960s and 1970s, resigning as Henry Kissinger's assistant on Mr Nixon's National Security Council to protest against the 1969 invasion of Cambodia. He now argues that the end of the Cold war has rendered obsolete the terms doves and hawks.

Mr Aspin causes the right least anguish, standing out from Mr Clinton's national security people "like a pastel against a large gray backdrop", as *The Washington*

Post put it. He was sent to Congress from Wisconsin 22 years ago on an anti-Vietnam platform, and won the chairmanship of the House armed services committee with liberal support. Those same liberals removed him from that post in 1987 after his support for Ronald Reagan's controversial MX missile and aiding the Nicaraguan Contras.

What clinched Mr Aspin the defence job was his support for the Gulf war, which distinguished him from most other Democrats and in particular from Sam Nunn, his Senate counterpart and rival. Mr Aspin hinted at more robust intervention in Bosnia during his Senate confirmation hearings. He asked: "If the world does nothing about what is going on in Bosnia, what kind of a signal does that send to other places in the former Soviet Union and other places where similar things might erupt?"

He also hinted at a new rationale for using American force abroad that challenged the "all or nothing" policy of Colin Powell, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. "When questioned specifically about strikes on Serbian positions, he observed: 'Maybe you use force not to achieve something but to punish people for doing certain things.'"



Ring of change: the Clintons and the Gores, with their son Al III, sound the Liberty Bell replica in Washington yesterday. Chelsea Clinton is hidden from view

Fashion writing on the wall for Hillary

FROM BEN MACINTYRE
IN WASHINGTON

As Washington DC embarked on its second day of inaugural partying, at least some of the participants were already feeling the strain. "I got just horrible drunk," said Nat Gibb, "and I'm gonna do the same tonight and tomorrow." Mr Gibb, one of 28 Arizona "mountain men" clad in yellow buckskin and bits of opium, will ride in the inaugural parade tomorrow.

This is the first course for a big party for 12 years, so I'm making the most of it. The rest of the boys ain't so much Democrats," he added, gesturing towards his companions, each one a Daniel Boone.

By early yesterday, the mountain men and thousands of others were congregating at Washington Mall, which on Sunday night saw the start of the vast, two-day musical victory celebration christened "America's Reunion on the Mall". So big was the enterprise, so wide the variety of musical and political celebrities on show, that even the organisers were having difficulty characterising an event where Washington met Hollywood, Woodstock, the Wild West, rap, jazz, soul, funk, Bob Dylan, and, yes, the policy wonks.

On one side of the crowd an 80ft wall invited graffiti answers to the question: "What are your dreams for America that President Clinton and Vice-President Gore can make come true?" Some took the opportunity to offer advice on education, housing, employment and the deficit. But others offered different sentiments. "Tell Hillary to get a real haircut and some real clothes," urged one graffitist.

Like the Clinton cabinet, the Clinton welcoming concert at the Lincoln Memorial on Sunday was framed to reflect a cross-section of American culture: Aretha Franklin sang Respect; Diana Ross held the microphone for the president-elect while the future first and second families joined in with *We Are The World*. Michael Jackson even made a brief visit, singing next to Chelsea Clinton. A band played Aaron Copland's *Fanfare for the Common Man*.

Even Mr Clinton seemed a little awed by the ranks of celebrities anxious to show their approval of the incoming administration. "I have worked to bring the country together," he said. "I didn't think we could get the country and the heavens together" — probably a reference to the orbiting astronauts who joined in when Mr Clinton set off a nationwide peal of bell-ringing with a replica Liberty bell.

The atmosphere of giddy celebration was not entirely without controversy. A party for James Carville, Mr Clinton's extrovert Louisiana campaign consultant, featured Cajun dishes, including alligator sausage. Animal rights activists were angered that 30 alligators had perished for the "Ragin' Cajun".

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All-American team lines up to take orders from coach

BILL Clinton has kept at least one of his many campaign promises. He takes office this week having indeed selected a cabinet that "looks like America". Add two jobs shortly to be given cabinet status and his 18-strong team will contain five women, four blacks and two Hispanics — the most diverse ever.

The diversity extends beyond sex and race. The cabinet contains "Hillary Clinton liberals" and "New Democrat conservatives", political veterans and novice outsiders, the intellectually bold and the cautiously conventional. It contains something for everybody, even — with its half a dozen corporate lawyers and lobbyists — for the cosy Washington establishment that Mr Clinton spent his campaign denouncing. But those seeking clues about his administration's ideological direction search in vain.

At first sight the cabinet seems a themeless pudding, but Mr Clinton may have been extremely canny. He spent more time selecting the men and women who will run America than any previous occupant of the Oval Office. Unlike Ronald Reagan, who delegated everything, or President Bush, who delegated domestic policy and paid a heavy price, Mr Clinton wants to control all the levers of power himself. Viewed from that perspective, his cabinet makes sense.

Into the key posts, he has put men whose strength lies in getting things done. And in each case, Mr Clinton has also appointed political counterweights, ensuring he will be the ultimate policy arbitrator. As his chief of staff Mr Clinton has chosen not a fearsome gatekeeper in the mould of John Sununu or Bob Haldeman, but a boyhood friend, Thomas "Mac" McLarty, a man with no political agenda whose job will be to ensure that the president hears all views.

As treasury secretary, Mr Clinton has appointed Lloyd Bentsen, the veteran Texan who knows better than anyone how to push legislation through Congress. As Senate finance committee chairman, Mr Bentsen championed numerous tax breaks for the oil,

Bill Clinton's list of appointees has something for everyone, Martin Fletcher writes

gas, and property and development industries, and gained notoriety for circumventing budget constraints. Those proclivities are balanced by the choice of Leon Panetta as the White House budget director. He is so obsessed with deficit reduction that he criticised Mr Clinton's programme in the campaign for not going far enough.

Will the Clinton administration embrace free trade? Mickey Kantor, the Los Angeles lawyer who is to be trade



Bentsen: championed tax breaks for industry

representative, has no known views on the subject, the job being his reward for serving as campaign chairman. However, Robert Reich, the new labour secretary, is an ardent free trader who advocates big government investment in training and infrastructure. But Laura D'Andrea Tyson, who is to be Mr Clinton's chief economic adviser, champions "countervailing subsidies" and government protection for key industries.

There are dangers in Mr Clinton's desire to manage the minutiae. It was a trait that culminated in President Carter deciding who could use the White House tennis court and being overwhelmed. Mr Clinton

will find that the presidency is an infinitely bigger job than governing Arkansas, and that even his prodigious energy is exhausted.

Mr Clinton has failed to appoint any Republicans, as he suggested he would do. However, Zoe Baird, his attorney-general, holds views on curbing America's mania for litigation that are at odds with Mr Clinton's. Her ideological counterweight is Mrs Clinton's old friend, Donna Shalala, the new health and social services secretary. Conservatives say Ms Shalala has made the University of Wisconsin, where she was chancellor, "the epicentre of political correctness".

Mrs Clinton is not in the cabinet, but her husband has made it plain that he will listen to her views. Mrs Clinton may be given an office in the west wing of the White House, the centre of power, not in the east wing where First Ladies normally do their work.

The average age of Mr Clinton's cabinet is 51 and its intellectual ability is not questioned, but if it does have an obvious imbalance it is towards environmentalism, reflecting the influence of Al Gore, the new vice-president. Carol Browner, who is to head the Environmental Protection Agency, Bruce Babbitt, the new interior secretary, and Alice Rivlin, the deputy White House budget director, are all active "greens".

Mr Clinton denied "bean counting" in selecting his cabinet — choosing people on the basis of race or gender, and generally that contention holds water. Mike Espy, the young black Mississippi congressman tipped for agriculture secretary, is extremely able. So, too, is Henry Cisneros, the Hispanic former mayor of San Antonio who is to be secretary of housing and urban development.

However, Mr Clinton was determined to appoint the first woman attorney-general. Putting Ron Brown, the Democrats' party chairman and ultimate lawyer-lobbyist, in charge of the Commerce Department seemed an extraordinary choice for a man who pledged to eliminate from government the influence of big money.

Saddam agenda

FOREIGN POLICY

Stage set for fierce Democrat fight on wages and welfare

FROM JAMIE DETTNER IN WASHINGTON

IN THE Bush administration, the main policy clash was between cabinet members who saw deficit-cutting as the main priority and those who believed enterprise zones in the inner-cities and tax-breaks for business were the way forward for a struggling economy.

In the new Democrat administration, on the other hand, the fiercest battle is likely to be fought over social policy rather than economic theories. On one side will be the so-called new Democrats, led by Bill Clinton, the president on the other will be the traditional liberals, of whom Hillary Clinton, the new First Lady, is one.

The traditional liberals, represented in many ways by the Children's Defence Fund, a child advocacy group which was chaired for a while by Mrs Clinton, have spent the past 12 years denouncing the Republicans and resisting welfare reform. The new Democrats, whose home is the Democrat Leadership Council, a moderate group once chaired by Mr Clinton, has emphasised the need to learn from Republican rule and to adopt a more "entrepreneurial" approach to welfare.

The two groups do, however, share some assumptions, and both support the need for a form of universal health care and more money for Head Start, the pre-school education scheme for under-fives from poor families. But they do not see eye to eye over welfare reform. One of Mr Clinton's key campaign themes, and their approach to several other issues, from child care to the idea of national community service for students, is starkly different.

The leadership council is a leading supporter of Mr Clinton's proposal to make welfare recipients work after two years or face reductions in their benefits. The defence fund has for some time argued that work requirements for those on welfare is "punitive". New Democrats talk about "reinventing government" when discussing social policy, the liberals imply that the fundamental problem in welfare, health care and education is lack of money.

While an expansion of work-training programmes, for example, is favoured by both groups, the liberals see problems in this field as a matter only of too few people being covered by training schemes. The new Democrats are worried about recent studies revealing that workers leaving some of the training programmes found themselves receiving lower wages

■ Unlike the Bush era, Clinton will preside over a period when social and not economic issues provoke the most heated debate

than before entering — which is not much of an incentive to join a training scheme in the first place.

The leadership council, founded by a group of Democrats who included both Mr Clinton and Al Gore, who will be his vice-president, after Ronald Reagan's second presidential election victory in 1984, is much quicker than the liberals to criticise the structure of social programmes and to try to find ways of fulfilling old left-wing commitments by employing new means. Such traditional liberals as Hillary Clinton emphasise the rights of the disadvantaged; the new Democrats, however, talk of "balancing" rights and responsibilities.

Two early clashes are likely to come over minimum wage



WHITE HOUSE HANDOVER

ideas and over Mr Clinton's proposal for a national service scheme for students who want to repay college loans through working in the community.

The Children's Defence Fund argues for minimum wage legislation. The leadership council believes such legislation would be an "anachronism" — or worse — according to one of its policy papers. It argues that tax credits are a better way of helping the poor.

Mr Clinton has signalled that the national service programme, an adaptation of Kennedy's Peace Corps system, will be one of his main legislative priorities for him in his neatly encapsulated one of his main campaign themes: citizens have responsibilities as well as rights. Mr Clinton himself recently acknowledged that important details remain to be worked out. In terms of the Clinton plan, the system under which student loans from banks are underwritten by the federal government would be replaced by a National Trust Fund.

Those who borrow from the fund could either repay their loans or could agree to work for the community for a number of years as teachers, police, doctors and so on. The programme could become very expensive, especially if the universities used it to increase student numbers.

Mr Clinton and his aides are privately grappling with tough questions about how grand the programme should be and where they will get the billions of dollars to pay for it. One fundamental question the Clinton camp must decide is how much of the scheme should be run from Washington and how much from the states.

Liberals and trade unions are worried about the proposal, fearing that it could result in low-cost workers driving out union members. They also oppose the national service idea on straight philosophical grounds. "The main problem is that it suggests that young people have these incredible duties to the state," said Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute, a liberal think-tank. "That runs counter to the principles of this country: power rises from the citizens to the state."

The liberals scored a big success during the transition period in getting Donna Shalala, the chancellor of Wisconsin University, appointed to the cabinet as secretary for health and thus in charge of the main federal welfare programmes. Listing her top five priorities soon after her nomination, Ms Shalala, a close friend of Mrs Clinton and chairwoman of the Children's Defence Fund, did not mention welfare reform.

New Democrats "are also well represented in the incoming administration. They include Al From, the director of the leadership council, and Bruce Reed, his deputy, who will help advise the new president on matters of domestic policy.

Another likely clash between the groups will come over child care. New Democrats advocate giving poor parents vouchers so that they can choose which nursery schools their children attend. The defence fund has argued that vouchers do not help parents in highly disadvantaged inner-city districts because there are not enough centres there to allow a real choice.

Leading article, page 15



Blazing a trail: fireworks illuminate the Capitol and monuments on the Washington Mall as parties and pageantry herald the presidential inauguration of Bill Clinton. He arrived in the capital on Monday to find the fiesta already in full swing, with a two-day musical victory celebration on the Mall

'Faces of Hope' lighten the menu

FROM IAN BRODIE IN WASHINGTON

IN speeches and interviews throughout yesterday, Bill Clinton reached back to the symbols and themes that propelled his campaign for the presidency. It seemed an attempt to smooth over the rough patch he hit last week when campaign promises fell by the wayside and two cabinet appointees ran into ethical problems.

Mr Clinton promised students at Georgetown University, which he himself attended, that he would never forget the energy that young people had brought to his campaign. He challenged them to seize the opportunities presented by the new administration. Behind schedule as usual.

INAUGURATION COUNTDOWN

he visited the predominantly black Howard University to pay tribute to Martin Luther King, whose birthday yesterday was a public holiday.

A high point was Mr Clinton's lunch with 50 people who had struck a chord with him during the campaign. These "Faces of Hope", as he calls them, are week-long guests of the Inaugural Committee. They include an HIV-positive teacher, a gun-control advocate whose husband was shot dead by a mental patient and a Los Angeles apartment manager who drove the gangs from her building. The lunch was intended to bear out his promise not to lose touch with "real people" when he becomes president. There are suggestions that the 50 should serve as a citizens' advisory panel during his term in office.

His day began with a three-mile jog along Pennsylvania Avenue, the route his inaugural parade will follow between Capitol Hill and the White House. "How ya doing?" he called out to workers putting final touches to the grandstands. "Looks beautiful," he said, as he shook numerous hands at the end of his run. The Clintons had stayed overnight at Blair House, a government guest house opposite the White House, after their triumphal entry into Washington by bus on Sunday.

Addressing Washington's diplomatic corps, Mr Clinton said that America could not escape its responsibilities in the world — but that it "cannot and should not bear the world's burdens alone". Rather, it should work closely with the international community through the United Nations. He promised to build on the Middle East peace process and applauded the Somalia relief operation.

Saddam dominates agenda on day one

FROM JAMIE DETTNER IN WASHINGTON

THE front pages of America's newspapers said it all. Iraq rather than the start of the grandiose presidential inauguration festivities dominated the news. The menacing flashes of anti-aircraft fire and missile attack over Baghdad were in America's minds yesterday rather than the inaugural fireworks display along the Potomac River.

What was to have been, as far as the Democrats were concerned, a chance to bask in a warm spotlight and focus the attention of Americans on the problems at home is increasingly being overshadowed by the harsh realities of a foreign crisis. The ironies abound. Twelve years ago at Ronald Reagan's first inauguration America's thoughts were also focused on a Middle East country: Iran, where 444 US hostages were being held by Ayatollah Khomeini's fundamentalist regime. The biggest irony though is that a man who was elected as a "domestic president" has found himself, with only hours to go to assuming White House control, plunged into a foreign policy nightmare that his administration is ill-equipped at the moment to handle.

Last night, Mr Clinton again emphasised that his administration would continue with the hardline approach toward President Saddam Hussein. "The policy of this country will remain American policy after January 20," he said in a speech at Washington's Georgetown University.

jets raided Iraqi anti-aircraft sites. Mr Clinton said: "We are all mindful of the tension in Iraq and of Saddam Hussein's continuing provocations against the international community and his own people. He must understand that America's resolve during this transition period will not waver."

The Bush administration has not given Mr Clinton the opportunity to say whether he is for the raids. "He has not been asked for his approval," Martin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, said. Last week, a decision to beef up American coastguard efforts off Haiti to prevent refugees getting to America was taken jointly by Mr Bush and his successor.

In a day's time the Saddam problem will become Mr Clinton's problem. He will confront Iraq without having completed his Pentagon and State Department appointments and he will have to decide how to act toward Iraq, aware that Americans still have doubts about his abilities to handle a foreign crisis.

Mr Clinton's team will have to decide early on whether limited strikes against Baghdad will work. At best the Bush approach has held out the prospect that economic hardship in Iraq will lead to the toppling of Saddam. Mr Clinton could well find, like the Republicans did, that the Iraqi leader is remarkably adept at clinging to power.

A Clinton aide said there had been discussions about cancelling some inaugural events but the idea was rejected on grounds that it would have sent a "signal to Saddam

TRANSITION NOTEBOOK

Presidential gas-guzzler gives Gore green test of loyalty

They call it the Bubba-mobile — 8,000lbs of black, armour-plated Cadillac worth an estimated \$250,000 (£160,000). The president-elect is said to be pleased with his new 23ft Fleetwood Brougham motor, particularly after those infernal bus tours. And since the Secret Service picked that particular car for secret bullet-proof reasons, Mr Clinton even avoids blame for the outrageous cost.

He can just sit back and enjoy listening to Elvis on the two separate stereo systems, while appreciating the six plush seats, the reading lamps, telephones and built-in public address system.

There is just one thing nagging Mr Clinton — will Al get apoplectic? Vice-president-elect Gore is well known for his views that gas-guzzlers are environmentally incorrect. "It makes little sense to continue manufacturing cars and trucks that get 20 miles per gallon and pump 19 pounds of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere per gallon," he wrote in *The Earth in Balance*. The presidential limo is said to do ten to 15 miles per gallon. Yet Mr Gore has been strangely silent on this matter. Could this be because his own sleek Cadillac is under construction at this moment at General Motors in Michigan?

Talking of weight and fuel consumption, Mr Clinton has announced his fear of becoming, in Arkansas argot, "fat as a wood tick".

The presidential bulk varies between 13 and 16 stones, depending whether he has recently consumed Mom's sweet potato casserole.

The recipe for Mrs Virginia's cholesterol special? Mash six pounds of sweet potatoes, add a pound of brown sugar, three eggs, half a pound of butter, and a pound and a half of sweet condensed milk. Top with marshmallows. It is clear that Mr Clinton's addiction to junk food began at home.

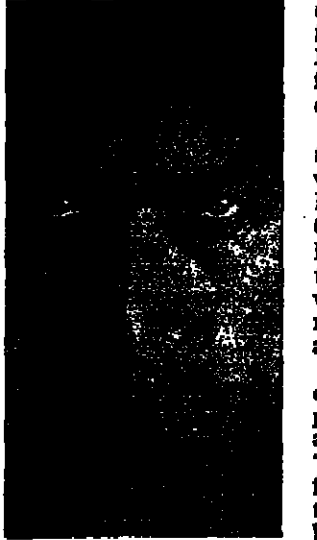
Stories of the man's consumption are legendary. "He eats like a Tasmanian devil — Dunkin' Donuts, McDonald's, tin cans," one aide informed *The New York Times*. Dee Dee Myers, the new White House press

spokeswoman, told a dinner party recently that those who were sceptical when Mr Clinton said he "didn't inhale" had never been to a McDonald's with him.

Here it is! was the giant headline on the cover of the world's fashion bible, *Women's Wear Daily*. And there it was, after months of speculation — a sketch of Hillary's ballgown. Created by Sarah Phillips, a little-known New York designer, the long-sleeved, straight dress is made of violet lace peppered with crystals, with a "full, shirred overskirt of iridescent blue-violet mouseline". The choice of a stinky number for Wednesday's inaugural balls has cheered Mrs Clinton's sartorial spin-doctors, who feared a gown from Little Rock designer Helen Benton, known for flouncy, frilly wedding dresses.

The Arkansas hoe-down took place at the weekend, without a ballgown in sight. Don Johnson and Melanie Griffith hosted and Bob Dylan played a little something. The crowd went hog wild, and there were many rhinestones, cowboy boots and b-4-g belts to be seen.

One guest, Peggy McClaun of Springdale, Arkansas, expressed the general mood of adoration for Mr Clinton. "It's a small state and we all feel like we know him. Y' get that hump in your throat because you're so proud."



Dylan: performed at Arkansas hoe-down

KATE MUIR

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Hillary Clinton will be cast into a myriad of fantasy models of First Womanhood, Kate Muir reports

All things to all America

Hillary Clinton appears as a dominatrix in bondage gear on next month's cover of the American satirical magazine *Spy*, her head superimposed on a voluptuous body, alongside the headline: "What Hillary Problem?"

As the new First Lady will discover after Wednesday, she and her husband are about to face more scrutiny, criticism and misinterpretation than even the campaign trail can have led them to imagine. Their every word and gesture will be magnified a thousand times. No nuance will escape the growing ranks of Clintonologists. Mrs Clinton will not be a wife, or a mother, or a high-flying lawyer. Instead, she will represent all wives, all mothers, and all female executives. Expectations are high for this newfangled version of The Complete Woman.

Throughout the campaign, the debate over the "Hillary factor" waxed and waned. She brought out all America's hopes and fears about the changing role of women. "She will be a kind of Rorschach ink blot," says Ruth Mandel, the director of the Centre for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, "in which different women expect to see the answer to how to lead their own lives, or what to aspire to, or how to manage contradictory and competing demands."

Both feminist and chauvinist sharks are waiting to bite as soon as the First Lady's toe touches the political water. Right-wing caricaturist pens are poised to turn her into a strident, yuppie, pro-choice First Lady Macbeth, while the right-on criticise her bottle-blond makeover, sharp suits, growing silences and adoring wifely gaze. Ms Mandel says: "The expectations for her are extraordinary, contradictory and probably superhuman."

Many are threatened by her. The new joke doing the rounds of Washington dinner parties is that Mr Clinton is appointing Hillary to the cabinet and giving Barbara Bush a four-year contract to be First Lady. *Time* magazine wrote of a joint Clinton interview that Mrs Clinton at first "seemed insufficiently aware that she was not the candidate herself. Instead of stand-

Attention, K-Mart Shoppers

"If you vote for my husband, you get me; it's a two-for-one, blue plate special."

1992: Hillary explaining this year's political equivalent of the K-Mart blue-light special.⁴²

Vigilante Battle Axe

"I would crucify her."

1992: Hillary describing what she would do to hapless Jennifer Flowers if she ever had the chance to assume the powers and prerogatives of the Sheriff of Nottingham—at least she doesn't intend to cut her heart out with a spoon.³⁶

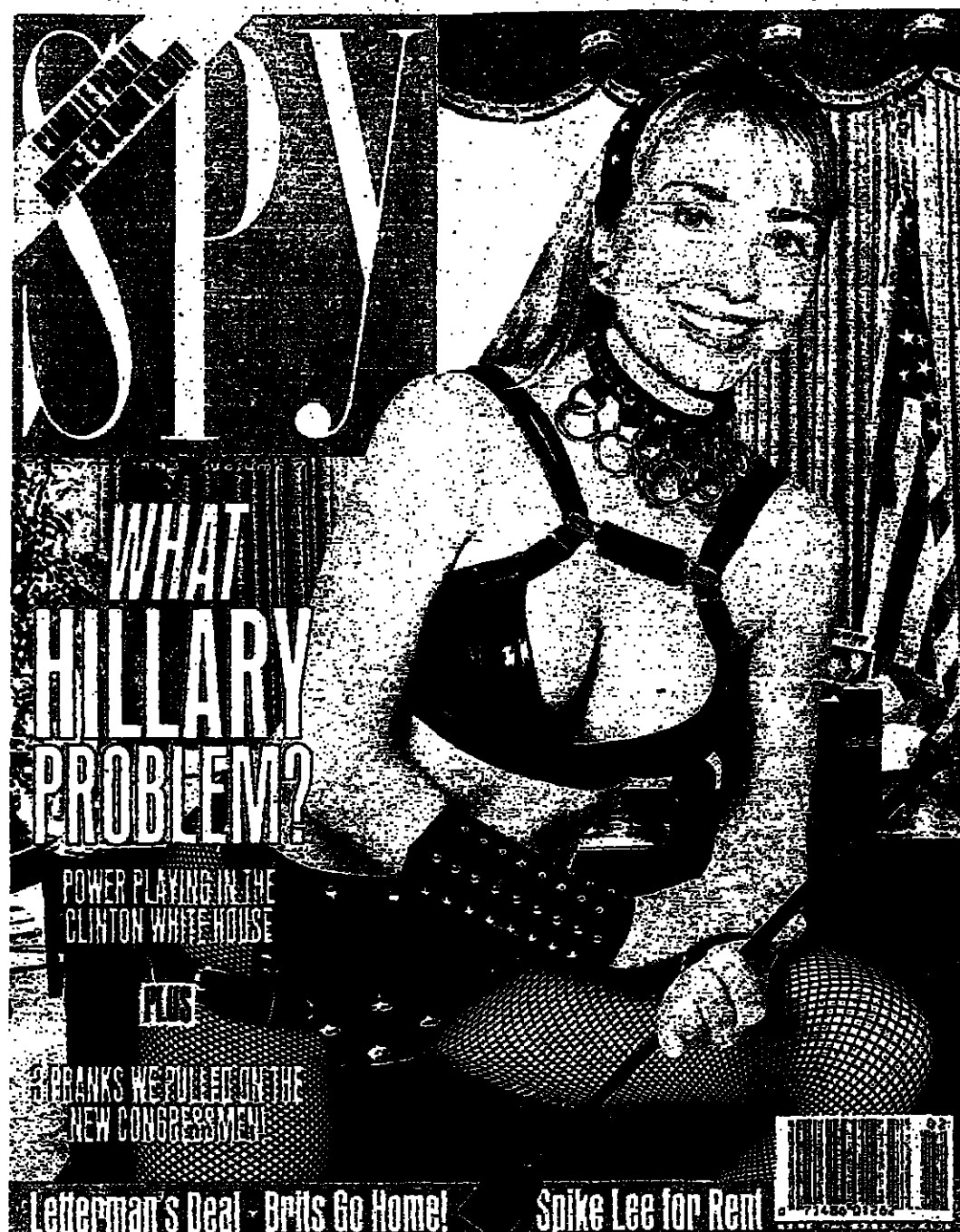
White House or bust: extracts, left, from *Hilarious: The Wacky Wit, Wisdom & Wonderment of Hillary Rodham Clinton*. Right: the front cover of *Spy* magazine.

ing by like a potted palm, she enjoyed talking at length about problems and policies." The conservative *National Review* magazine described her as "that smiling barracuda".

Unauthorised biographies of Mrs Clinton are all over bookshops like a nasty rash. An unpleasant hatchet-job is contained in an innocuous looking stocking-filler book, *Hilarious: The Wacky Wit, Wisdom & Wonderment of Hillary Clinton*, by George Grant. Pages of Mrs Clinton's quotes and some unfortunate photographs of her are sandwiched between Bible-belt vir-

riol. The quotes are preceded by this from Proverbs 10: 8-10, "The wise in heart will receive commands, but a prating fool will fall." Examples of Mrs Clinton's "prating foolishness" include "I'm not sitting here, some little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette" and "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had tea". These sentiments got her into trouble with some of the 26 per cent of American women who are full-time mothers at home, but the majority were encouraged by them.

Other shocking lines from the



Left: from *Hilarious: The Wacky Wit, Wisdom & Wonderment of Hillary Rodham Clinton*. Right: the front cover of *Spy* magazine.

woman dubbed "The H-Bomb" in the book include "I have worked to redefine the role I've inherited" and "I want to be a voice for America's children", which, were they uttered by anyone else, would be considered no more than pleasantries. Her last remark elevates the hackles of Beverly LaHaye, the president of "Concerned Women for America." "Mrs Clinton's kind of policy regarding children is hostile to parental authority," she says.

The sound and fury coming from the right exaggerates the public position—in a poll by the magazine *Vanity Fair* last year, 84

per cent said they found it acceptable for Mrs Clinton to continue with career while her husband was in office, and in a *Newsweek* magazine poll conducted in December, 49 per cent had a favourable opinion of her, while 17 per cent did not. Asked whether they would like to see Mrs Clinton play an active role in policy-making in the new administration, 46 per cent said yes, and 40 per cent said no.

The public will not get that choice in reality. Already, Mrs Clinton is playing a huge part in the government of a nation which did not elect

her. She was one of the five people on the transition committee which chose the cabinet, which includes four women, and 13 lawyers out of a total of 18. When *Time* magazine interviewed Mr Clinton as their "Man of the Year", Mrs Clinton walked into the living room in Little Rock and began answering questions on policy alongside him. When the president-elect was asked who he wanted at his side when he made the really big decisions, he said: "Hillary"—as *The New York Times* put it, "stuttering with a single word, 200 years of presidential protocol".

That is why Hillary is so scary. Not for nothing is Al Gore now known as "the incredible shrinking vice-president", because Mrs Clinton is not just First Lady, she is First Aide, and both she and her husband admit it. As a Republican lobbyist, said in *The New York Times*, "Al Gore hasn't yet realised there is going to be a co-presidency. But he's not going to be part of the co."

The early signs that the Clintons worked as a political team could be divined from the regime in Arkansas, and the couple's own remarks. "Buy one, get one free," said Bill. "It's a two-for-one, blue plate special," said Hillary. The electorate knew all along what was on the menu, and voted for it. Indeed, far more women voted Democrat than usual.

Some pundits claim Mrs Clinton is making herself "fair game" for criticism. But she is the first of 37 First Ladies to be as educated and experienced in matters of politics and the business world as her husband. As a Yale Law School graduate, she worked on the indictment of President Nixon; she has twice been listed in the top 100 most influential lawyers; she has served on the boards of the giant supermarket chain Wal-Mart, and the yogurt vendor TCBY; she has chaired a commission on education; and she has worked with the Children's Defence Fund for 20 years. This curriculum vitae will not go to waste.

The new First Lady told *Newsweek* last month that much of the criticism was "either not relevant to what I cared about, or not accurate in its depiction of me." She added that changing roles of men and women and new insecurities mean "that those who have traditionally been considered less powerful will suffer some backlash, whether it is ethnically, religiously or gender-based."

Susan Faludi, the author of *Backlash: the undeclared war against American women*, thinks Mrs Clinton's rough ride with the media is indeed a fine example of her theory. She writes that the supposed problem with women has nothing to do with their actual condition, "but rather is a closed system that starts and ends in the media, popular culture and advertising—an endless loop that perpetuates and exaggerates its own false images of womanhood."

The First Lady is trapped in the loop and must grin and bear it. The bet is on that it will not be long before Mr Clinton is awarded a new title by the media: First Gentleman.

Jamming with Clinton, page 33

TOMORROW

"At Black Rod, a tiny barber's in Balham, south London, young men queue to get a head design that costs up to £30, lasts only ten days but says more about themselves than their curriculum vitae."

On the Looks page, Karen Lane considers the cut that counts



Letting slip the fog of war

A new book analyses the stress, and excitement, of modern war

In the midst of fearsome Argentine artillery fire which had kept the men from the Scots Guards pinned down, the sergeant-major was spotted crawling around on his hands and knees as if wounded. Not far away a dead guardsman was spread-eagled on the ground, arms outstretched with a hole through the front of his head.

Two images from the Falklands conflict, yet each telling a different story about war and the way it can both destroy and uplift. The sergeant-major was not wounded. Just before an Argentine shell landed nearby, he had been unwrapping a Mars bar which he had saved for weeks. The blast blew the chocolate bar out of his hand and he was searching for it, using an image intensifier weapon sight.

War has always engendered mixed emotions for those who are trained and paid to fight for their country or for a cause deemed by their government to be worthy of sacrifice. The Falklands war happened a long way from home. So, too, did the Gulf war. Each had at its centre a dictator acting in defiance of international law, and every member of the services sent to teach them a lesson had to come to terms with the possibility that he or she might be killed or seriously wounded.

As British service personnel today confront the challenge of conflict in three different parts of the world—Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq and Northern Ireland—the general public probably still has no real concept of what war is like.

The horrors of the Falklands have been subsumed into recollections of cruise liners arriving at Southampton with multi-coloured ticker tape of spectacular photographs of warships blowing up, and of a group of bleak islands covered in mist and penguins. The soldiers, sailors and airmen who still suffer from their experience have to keep their memories to themselves.

High McManners says.

an of the Falklands war who was trained to operate with special forces and thus more capable than the average infantryman to deal with the rigours of war in a hostile climate, has made it his mission in life to explain to a wider public what fighting battles is really like. In *The Scars of War*, a stirring and disturbing book, published this week by HarperCollins at £18, 40-year-old Mr McManners proves convincingly that modern warfare, with non-stop day and night fighting, and weaponry that can devastate areas of the battlefield, is more stressful than ever before.

"In the second world war, at least there was a cycle of activity and safe areas," he says. "In modern warfare, fighting just goes on and on for as long as people have the energy to continue. It's exhausting and terrifying. Yet war is not an entirely miserable experience."

"I enjoyed the Falklands war because I was part of a brotherhood of dedicated, like-minded people. I knew very well. It was a peculiar mixture of pain, horror and heady excitement."

How will the Royal Air Force and American pilots be coping with the pressures of bombing Iraqi targets under fire from anti-aircraft and missile attacks, especially if they discover their smart bombs may have missed their targets and possibly struck civilian buildings?

"The greatest fear for the crews is failure. It even exceeds the fear of what might happen to them in the air. They are so mission-orientated, so geared up to popping the bombs into their laser baskets at the right moment that the threat from anti-aircraft fire is a secondary concern," Mr McManners says.

The pressure to succeed is even more important to them than worrying about the possibility of civilians being killed. As soon as the bombs have dropped, they go into a different mode, but until then they



Clear view: experience informed Mr McManners' writing

are under tremendous pressure. Each sortie is like 2½ minutes of complete panic surrounded by 4½ hours of calm.

He looks back at his war experiences from the comfort of an isolated farmhouse in the depths of the Kent countryside not far from Canterbury. He shares it with his wife Deborah, a GP, and their two sons, one born only six weeks ago.

He joined the Royal Artillery in 1972. After a 16-year career in which he qualified as a paratrooper, commando, army diving supervisor, forward air controller and naval gunfire forward observer, he left the army with the rank of major and looked for an alternative way of using his experience and talents. He turned to writing and began interviewing men who had served on the same battle-

Major Jeff Niblett, a helicopter pilot, admitted to Mr McManners that in spite of three tours of Northern Ireland, nothing had prepared him for the level of violence he encountered during the Falklands war. David Cooper, the chaplain of the 2nd Battalion, Parachute Regiment, recalled that on the night before the final attack on Goose Green, soldiers sat around "dazed and shocked, with no humour, nothing to say".

Many talked of "the fog of war". Goose Green was taken in spite of poor intelligence from the SAS who, according to the chaplain, dined there was nobody there.

Later, word came down the line that Goose Green had already been taken by the Royal Marines. The paras were told they just had to clear the bunkers and make sure it was all mopped up.

Another intelligence gem alerted 7 Para to the fact that

the locals at Darwin, neighbouring Goose Green, liked to walk their dogs in the early morning and if anyone was spotted at the settlement, they would just be dog-walking civvies.

A corporal who came across about 50 of these supposed local dog-lovers was threatened with court martial for breaking the Geneva Convention when he opened fire on innocent islanders. Of course, they were Argentine soldiers. The corporal believes to this day that he started the battle for Darwin and Goose Green.

Mr McManners says soldiers are deeply affected by what they do in the heat of battle. This was how one para sergeant described a confrontation with an Argentine soldier: "You cannot possibly imagine the depths to which you descend in war."

"I shot a man at close quarters on Mount Longdon and in the split second before I pulled the trigger, I wondered if the round would go through him, ricochet and come back to hit me or someone else. It was getting light, a sort of grey dusk, and we were getting towards the end of the battle. He had crawled out of a cave and was no more than three or four feet away."

As in the Falklands, Gulf war service personnel were desperate to return home as quickly as possible. Many of the units were broken up after the war and soldiers returned home to different parent units which had not fought in the war, and did not understand what they had experienced. The infantry had not actually fought a proper battle, which left many of them frustrated and angry, particularly as Saddam Hussein's power seemed undiminished.

A Regimental Sergeant Major described to me the emotional effect of the war as being like training for months to jump over a 400m bluff, then when you reach the edge discovering it to be only four inches high." Mr McManners says.

"The troops' sense of anti-climax and disappointment, together with relief at their own survival and the horrors they saw inflicted on the enemy, formed a powerful emotional cocktail."

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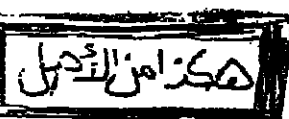
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FIT THE BEST



Crazy about the family

Families are feeling the pressure of 'care in the community'. And now psychiatrists are, too. Liz Gill reports

When they let the patients out of the psychiatric hospitals, they let the doctors out too. And it may be the psychiatrists, rather than their patients, who will have the bigger problem coping with the demands of a wider world.

Inside hospitals, psychiatrists can take a narrow symptomatic view rather than dealing with functional problems, the hurly-burly of people's lives such as housing, jobs, relationships — and families.

Now, even if patients do not live at home, the system of community care generally involves working more closely with families.

On the whole, says Dr Matt Muijen, the director of Research and Development for Psychiatry, a charity looking at community care issues, psychiatrists and patients' families

"I can only think of one family where there was a very critical and hostile mother which was actually damaging. Sometimes a family has been through so much they want someone else to take over. Generally, what they want is support."

In Nottingham, where the system of community care is being used by the health department as a demonstration model for other regions, there is a self-help group for patients' parents. Dr John Howat, a psychiatrist and the director of Nottingham's rehabilitation and care services, says that sometimes a family therapy approach is necessary. "We may still need to work on how a family might be making a situation worse," he says. "In other words, they often wind each other up."

"At one end of the spectrum you get parents who treat the patient as a perpetual child, and at the other those who want to help him or her towards independence. I'm not too keen on locking into the child thing because the person cannot move towards independence, but at least it's stable. The worst situation is where parents oscillate between the two and give confused messages. Critical comments also make symptoms worse."

Next year the Victorian asylum in Mapperley, which has loomed over Nottingham from its hilltop perch for more than a century, will close, making the city, with its population of 600,000, the first of its size in the country to have no long-stay psychiatric hospital.

Instead, Nottingham's mentally ill — there might be about 2,000 at any one time, of whom perhaps 500 need intensive long-term care — will be cared for in the community, drawing on a range of support services and re-admitted temporarily to acute beds in other hospitals only in extreme circumstances.

"I've absolutely no doubt that this is the right way to go," Dr Howat says. "Every psychi-

atric hospital in the country should close."

In Nottingham each of the area's mentally ill patients is assigned a care manager, usually a psychiatric nurse, to identify needs, liaise with other agencies and monitor progress. "Each manager has about 20 patients," Dr Howat says. "For some people, the sort who in the olden days would have spent the rest of their lives in an institution, care is virtually open-ended."

Preliminary evaluation suggests the system is working well, he says, both in terms of the patients' mental state and in their quality of life. Symptoms are reduced, social functioning improved and, Dr Howat adds, "People report being happier," he says.

The movement towards community care stemmed from a growing conviction among professionals and politicians that patients would fare better in the world outside. "All too often, however, community care turned out to be no care at all: responsibility re-bounded on families who found themselves overburdened or unable to cope; patients fell through the net into homelessness, prison or self-harm. The injuries suffered by Ben Silcock, after he climbed into the lion's cage at London zoo on New Year's eve, somehow epitomise the system's failure."

Since then, Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, has announced a review of the 1983 Mental Health Act to consider, in particular, the issue of compulsory treatment for patients in the community. Overall, however, observers believe government policy is unlikely to change: there will be no return to large-scale institutionalised care. For the professionals it is now a question of how best to implement the community concept.

As Dr Fiona Caldicott, the president-elect of the Royal College of Psychiatrists, says yesterday, "lectures and workshops on community care training, says: 'The trouble is that the system is very patchy, depending on various factors, often historic or geographical, as well as the commitment of management and the resources available.'"

Rachel Kenney, information officer for Sane, the mental health charity, says: "We are not against community care as such, but from the evidence of the calls to our helpline what often happens is that the family is left to pick up the pieces of someone's mental illness. Sometimes a family is simply given the stark diagnosis of schizophrenia and left to get on with finding out about it themselves."

"The best systems are often where there is someone like a community psychiatric nurse who can monitor patients in their own homes. This is better than patients being given hospital out-patient appointments and never seeing the same consultant enough to build up any sort of relationship. The

system is also more successful where there are intensive support hostels, which have almost the same facilities as hospitals."



In society's dustbin: many mentally ill people join Britain's nameless, cared for by neither family nor state

Dr Muijen believes that good community care means continuity via a key worker with direct responsibility for specific patients, efficient coordination of services, provision for round-the-clock crisis intervention and a range of facilities.

"You still need acute hospital beds where people can be admitted when necessary," he says. "You need hostels ranging from those with high-intensity 24-hour care to those where the person is virtually living on their own, with someone popping in every day. You need day-care centres where they can go and do something and you need some sort of vocational rehabilitation or work facility."

Peter Tyrer, the professor of community psychiatric services at St Mary's Hospital, Medical School in London, whose clinical work involves visiting and treating people in their homes, says: "The big advantage is that you get a much fuller picture. You are challenged more and your authority may be lessened in that you can't just tell them what to do, but you get a better working relationship."

Compliance with treatment programmes is, of course, at the heart of the problem, hence the current debate over whether psychiatrists should be given new legal powers to treat patients compulsorily outside hospital.

Many psychiatrists believe such measures would be unethical, unworkable and self-defeating, driving the most difficult patients underground. Most prefer what is known as "assertive outreach", a continuing process of monitoring and persuasion. "If someone refuses help," Dr Howat says, "we try for two years to help them on their terms. It's better to carry on chipping away."

Royal Liverpool University Hospital. In a RCS survey in 1991, only 18 per cent of surgeons used the "Shouldice" repair from France, which has been commonplace in specialist hernia clinics there and in North America (notably the Lichtenstein Hernia Clinic in Los Angeles) since the early 1980s. In this method, a patch of polypropylene mesh is inserted deep in the abdominal wall and secured with a few light stitches.

□ Mesh repair is virtually unobtainable on the NHS, and there is still scepticism about the risk of infection and rejection associated with using foreign material. However, its recurrence rate is impressive at well under 1 per cent.

□ The working party's most revolutionary (and expensive) proposal is that health authorities start funding specialist hernia day-case clinics, where mesh repairs as well as laparoscopic surgery (which has to use mesh) could be taught by specialist surgeons. This is "ambulatory surgery", when patients are in and out in a matter of hours instead of having to stay up to three days in hospital and are operated on under local anaesthetic.

□ The British Hernia Centre — set up in 1991 in Hendon, northwest London — performs a groin hernia operation using mesh under local anaesthetic for £895. Private treatment elsewhere, with general anaesthetic and a hospital stay can cost up to £2,000.

HILAIRE GOMER

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Lightness of being celibate

Good sex guides may lead to fulfilment, but there is an alternative

Sex experts try to make us believe that without frequent sex we will become unbearably frustrated and repressed. In fact the reverse may be true.

Many people discover that their physical health improves during a time of voluntary celibacy. This is because sex brings into play a large amount of stress hormones, which can eventually lead to stress-related diseases.

Although a life of celibacy is popularly imagined to be one of misery, deprivation and continual frustration and repression, it can be the very opposite, and provide a wonderful opportunity to get to know yourself, understand who you are and what is your real purpose in life. It can also allow you to develop hitherto undiscovered talents.

A period of voluntary celibacy can give space and time to become autonomous and self-sufficient. It can bestow a powerful feeling of liberation and lightness. It means you can truly reclaim yourself, and become free from the sexual demands of your own body and also the sexual desires of other people, which you may not always feel like accommodating.

It seems to me that sex is more like an addiction than a physiological need. The need for it grows the more we feed it. But once we decide to stop indulging, the desire for it starts to diminish, and it begins to lose its hold, its fierce power over our lives.

We can't live without food, water, shelter and sleep but we can, if we choose, live without sex. And nothing bad happens to us as a result.

We're told that sex relieves stress, but it's actually more likely to cause it, especially if, as so often happens, we are not in total sexual harmony with our partners, or having affairs.

One of the greatest illusions of our times is that, in order to be emotionally happy and healthy, it's essential to have a full and active sex life from

adolescence to the grave. If this were the case, we'd all be happy and jolly. Instead, as we all know to our cost, sexual relationships so often cause pain and suffering to all concerned.

The idea that sex increases human happiness started only with Freud, and soon became an orthodoxy. It is now resulting in great unhappiness as people vainly try to live up to the ideal. And when sex doesn't bring joy and pleasure we can start to blame and hate the partner — or ourselves. But the partner — or ourselves — when you decide to remove yourself from the sexual arena, all that angst vanishes.

If you think about it, sex doesn't really achieve anything. It patently hasn't worked to usher in better physical or emotional health or a more harmonious society.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the celibate life is that there is more time to nurture valuable friendships. Many happily celibate people, from Stephen Fry to the poet Stevie Smith, have spoken of this. And of course, when you concentrate on friendship rather than sex, there's no fear of being found out if you are having sex with the wrong person. Whoever heard of a celibacy scandal?

So is there a downside, a major drawback? Well, you can miss the physical presence of another person, and you can certainly miss the tranquillising and anaesthetising effects of sex. You can miss the passion, the tumultuous emotions. And it is true that sometimes you will feel odd, as if you're not really part of the human race, not fully living. There may be times of sexual frustration and loneliness, possibly of acute pain.

But there's no need to don sackcloth and ashes. You can probably enjoy life's other pleasures even more. And the sense of calmness, of taking control over your own life, is priceless.

LIZ HODGKINSON

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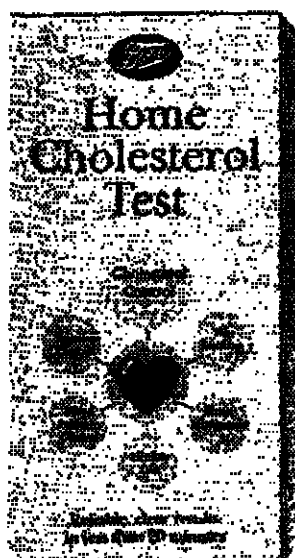
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Handling a hernia

but in most cases it is not embarrassing — large or unsightly.

□ For most patients hernia discomfort is not severe enough for any sort of painkiller. After diagnosis, the NHS patient will join the waiting list for a routine repair operation. The wait can be as long as two years depending on the health authority, but the latest figures for England and Wales show that in 1989 the average wait for a man was 54 days. The recurrence rate, where a hernia has to be repaired a second (or even a third) time, is about 7 per cent and one of the highest in the world — possibly because many general surgeons are not particularly interested in hernia surgery.

□ Most hernia operations, whether NHS or private, use the same old-fashioned "dam" repair to stitch the hernia back into place, but the working party is anxious to promote the Canadian "Shouldice" repair using a multi-layered suture. This has a recurrence rate of less than 1 per cent. "The Shouldice is the gold standard, and of all the traditional suture repairs, it is the one which surgeons should adopt," says Andrew Kingsnorth, the chairman of the working party and consultant at the

AFTER the death of Sir James Stirling, the leading architect, following a routine hernia operation last June, a working party set up by the Royal College of Surgeons (RCS) and the health department this month invited hernia surgeons from all over the country to attend a conference to devise new guidelines on how to update and improve hernia treatment in the NHS. This initiative hopes to prepare surgeons for the next milestone in hernia repair: laparoscopic ("keyhole") surgery, which is already beginning to catch on in private hernia surgery.

□ A hernia (or rupture) is a portion of tissue which has broken through a weakness in the abdominal wall. Most are groin (inguinal and femoral) hernias. Hernia surgery is the most common operation in the United Kingdom (80,000 a year), affecting 10 per cent of the population at some point in their lives. The ratio of men to women hernia sufferers is 8:1.

□ The typical inguinal hernia sufferer is a 40-year-old man whose work demands that he stands a lot: a surveyor, a hospital doctor or a labourer, for example. Men are more prone to abdominal hernia than women because of the positioning of their reproductive organs. Because man stands upright, his testes hang in such a way that strain is put on his abdominal muscles and may weaken the abdominal wall.

□ The first indication of a hernia is usually an ache on standing and unpleasant twinges on exertion particularly when lifting. There will be a small lump (the escaped tissue) in the groin

Lynne Truss



■ It stands to reason that Robert Maxwell's junk will one day be really valuable

Staggering back from the Headington Hall sale at Sotheby's last week, a couple of Robert Maxwell's bugged table-lamps under each arm, and a knapsack full of blank writs and furry Russian hats on my back, I did pause to consider for a moment what on earth had come over me. A little voice inside said "This is junk, Lynne," but another said "Mm, but that's what they probably said when someone first paid good money for Hermann Goering's dress uniform, or Napoleon's willy, both of which have been known to fetch very handsome prices in this strange topsy-turvy world of secular relics." Naturally, after such a very long and complex thought, I had a little lie-down, and for a moment tackled this vexed question from its lighter side. For example, how apposite, I mused idly, that Napoleon's member was today in private hands.

That Maxwellabilia will one day be valuable, I argued, stands to reason. No trouble shifting these table-lamps no, sir. You see, the collectors will be driven underground by public distaste. Which means they will gladly pay big bucks for black-market rubbish. And they will end up like those fanatical German dupes revealed by the Hitler Diaries fiasco, jealously guarding their secret torch-lit subterranean shrines, and willing to sell the family business for the merest glimpse of a genuine bugged table-lamp. So I am definitely on to a good thing. And meanwhile, just in case demand outstrips supply, I have rigged up a little workshop in the shed, where I am cheerfully producing cheap replicas of the table-lamps, in between bouts of composing 36 skimpily volumes of "Maxwell Diaries". (You know how the fragments of the True Cross, laid end to end, were supposed to be enough wood for a large boat? Well, in days to come, scholars will notice that, put together, the True Maxwell Table-Lamps resemble an entire British Home Stores lighting department.)

The really tricky decision is whether to write little authenticating labels, signed "Robert Maxwell". From all I have heard about collectors, the presence of a counterfeit label helps the relic-hunter make up his mind that the thing is genuine, which is exceedingly odd, when you think about it, since it ought logically to make him smell a rat. I mean, if you see a note that says "This is my very own dress uniform, worn for my nephew's christening, you can see where the Ribena left a stain. H. Goering," surely you are bound to wonder what terrible mental derangement drove this man to put pen to paper. Ask yourself, when was the last time you felt compelled to dash off a Post-It note in authentication of one of your own outfits? Imagine the embarrassment on the Northern Line, when you looked down and saw yourself decked out with all those coloured squares. "These are my best shoes, you can see the scratch-marks made by the kitties." It would be awful. People could lean over and say presumptuous things, such as "I can read you like a book."

But for some reason the device worked a treat on the Hitler cranks, who were quite happy to imagine a strange parallel universe in which top Nazis sat around in the last days of the Third Reich helpfully pinning labels on each other and themselves. "Shall I sign that holster for you?" they said. "Oh, would you? I've done so much signing today I can't remember which side I'm on." Napoleon, fortunately, was spared this fanciful scenario. Even the blindest of fanatics would think it fishy that Napoleon wrote a "This is my willy," note, especially if the item was already floating in preservative in a glass jar.

Maxwell's stuff fits perfectly into this world of lies and fakes, I reckon. "This is my table-lamp, by means of which I overheard that we were having chops and sauce for dinner on June 14, 1987." It gets you going, doesn't it? And paradoxically, where Maxwell is concerned, the more you suspect you are being lied to, the more it adds to the sense of authenticity. It's a fake! Therefore it must be genuine! Perhaps, in the special circumstances, I should beef it up. "This is my table-lamp, trust me, send me a pound, are you quite sure I'm dead?" — Robert Maxwell. Oh humme. That should certainly keep the punters begging for more.



America's identity crisis

The politics of the ghetto and the loss of the only national language threaten the great vision of the founding fathers

Tomorrow, President Clinton will be sworn in; perhaps this is the moment to discuss a strange transatlantic phenomenon. When our elections loom, earnest Americans ask me about the Jewish vote — which way will it go? I tell them, patiently, that although there are a substantial number of Jews in this country, there is no such thing as a Jewish vote, and I add that I pray nightly to my Jewish forefathers that there never will be such a thing.

But it is not only the Jews; I have been in my time asked about Britain's farming vote, its Catholic vote, its black vote, and even its homosexual vote, and the answer is always the same: we don't have such things here.

Oddly, although I have attended upon several American elections, and naturally many more of our own, I cannot recall ever having been abroad in the middle of an election in any other country, so I do not know whether such questions would arise elsewhere; there must surely be a psephologist who can give us the data from all electoral systems.

Talking of psephologists, did you know that R.B. McCallum invented the word psephology, in 1952? It must be very pleasing to have added a meaningful and useful word to the language. Mind you, there is already a levin in the dictionary; it means a stroke of lightning, and it goes back not merely to 1952 but to 1250, though the OED, damn its impudence, says that My Word is "of obscure origin" and multiplies the offence by saying it is now obsolete.

In the recent American election, all the pressure groups, parties, fund-raisers, factions, registration-drive organisers and wearers of appropriate lapel buttons were showing their oars in sight and day. How different from us! I once invented an organisation called Black Single-Parent Lesbians against Killer Asbestos, but nobody involved in the Bush/Clinton fight would have found anything odd about it. After all, in that contest there was a real organisation, and a thriving one, called Gays and Lesbians United for Clinton.

Why, then, the substantial and deep-rooted differences between the ways our two countries garner support in elections and hold post-mortems after them? Take the Jews, for instance, with whom I started, apart, obviously, from anti-Semitism. I can think of nothing on which British Jews in general would

agree, in numbers significantly large as to be thought of at elections as a group in the political sense.

It goes further; pollsters (who invented that word) have to take good care not to offend Jewish voters by assuming that they are part of a structure built of Jews and heading directives from a powerful and influential organisation. Not only do British Jews eschew voting en bloc, but their public residence in this matter is very striking: overt expression of support is quietly frowned upon. So how, with nothing more than that to go on, can there be a "Jewish vote" at all?

As for the American "farming vote", it seems even more absurd here. Take first, and most obvious, what happens to all candidates in all elections in all countries which have anything that could be called farming, even if such farming consists of nothing but a few window-boxes; why, in some of these countries, there are shops which sell nothing but artificial mud to put on the boots of the horsey-handed sons of agricultural toil, the better to impress the

inspector. For the inspector always brings good tidings: all governments, and a fortiori all oppositions, always promise, at election time, to give every farmer several hundred thousand million pounds every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, starting on the morrow of the victory of whichever party has won, and although the promises are all of course broken, the point is made.

Religious votes would be even more absurd in Britain: the C of E wouldn't dare to suggest or even hint at a vote for this or that party, and the only occasion in modern times when a few words from Rome were heard, they were strictly ecumenical, if you see what I mean. And do you remember the uproar when Billy Graham criticised socialism in Britain, and had to perform the most amazing back-somersaults to get out of trouble?

Why, then, the extraordinary homogeneity of Britain as compared to the United States? There, when some politician forgets himself and says that he doesn't like spinach, the pollsters, having done their calculations, tell him that he has lost the vote of 86.7 per cent of spinach farmers, and that goes, *mutatis mutandis*, for those who criticise dogs, the quality of the mustard that goes on frankfurters at baseball games, and the makers of darkened glass for viewing eclipses of the sun through.

Compared to us, America is far more — how shall I put it? — ghetto-minded.

There are some British cities in which black people or Asians are sufficiently numerous to seem to dominate the indigenous citizens, but such enclaves are few, whereas in the United States there are, in most sizeable cities, complete areas in which not a word of English can be

seen, on shop-fronts, street-signs and even newspapers. That, of course, was how the United States was created: its extraordinary diversity stems from its flood of incomers. (Remind me to tell you one day how my great-uncle Rudi became an American by accident.)

That was also the way it happened in Britain, but there, after some time, the new citizens spread out; in America they tended, and still do tend, to cluster more tightly than ever. I am of the opinion that the United States did itself a very serious injury, an injury which in years to come could even be mortal, when it gave up insisting that the national language had to be English, for nothing defines a country more than its language.

And surely to think so much in terms of groups, even in the harmless field of psephology, is to reinforce boundaries rather than to break them down. When Adlai Stevenson, in 1956, was defeated in the presidential election, he said in his graceful concession speech, "We vote as many, but we pray as one." He would, I

think, be started today at the chasm that has opened before that belief.

Britain has been slow (I am very glad to say) in its progress into the EC. But what do you suppose would be happening in the United States if some president was trying to take his country into the organisation? The negotiations would not just go on until the 21st century, they would go into the 22nd, and a long way into it, too. It is too easy to say that the very size of the United States makes for this extraordinary variety of attitudes and beliefs, so that the pollsters can do nothing but add up those in favour and multiply by the number they first thought of. In America, at least, cohesion and fissiparousness can go hand in hand: 'no one' could imagine the United States tearing itself apart as post-Soviet Russia has done, to say nothing of post-Yugoslavia. True, it did it once; but not in even the most extravagant science fiction could there be the story of the second American civil war. There are, though, signs which suggest that that marvellous amalgam is beginning to show its cracks (I don't know if that is a mixed metaphor, because I have never really known what an amalgam is), and if it is, I cannot think what will put it together again.

I have strayed rather far from elections, but it is elections in the United States that show, perhaps all unwittingly, the dangers. If you think you need a Jewish vote, a Spanish vote, a Chinese vote, a farming vote, a fishing vote, a fox-hunting vote, a western, a southern, an eastern vote, where do you find an American vote, and what do you do with it when you have found it? There is an odd symbol in this pattern, woven out of the time-changes across the United States: at election time, when the people are going out to vote, the polls are crowded in Los Angeles, but on the other side of the country the booths in New York have already closed. Nor is that only a symbol: the pollsters and psephologists have evidence that more than one presidential race has been lost when it would have been won, solely because the returns from the east were such as to have a significant effect showing, as enough voters in the west thought, that there was no point in going out to vote, whereas their ballots would have turned the tide. Give me, every time, this tight little, right little island.

Bernard Levin

Jaw-jaw about war

WITH bombs raining down on Iraq and HMS Ark Royal sailing for Bosnia, there is much talk in Westminster about the need for a war cabinet to be convened — the third in 11 years.

The idea has gained the support of some Tory MPs, particularly those anxious about British involvement in Bosnia. They would like the committee to have responsibility for both Bosnia and Iraq. But the prospect has brought hoots of derision from some of Britain's leading military figures. General Sir John Hackett, a former Deputy Chief of the General Staff at the Ministry of Defence, says: "There is a strong case for the war cabinet to be reconstituted. But not yet. Anyway, what can the politicians do and say? There is already a tendency to punch above our weight on the international scene. We have got our defence knickers in a terrible twist, thanks to the politicians."

Field-Marshal Lord Carver, a noted military historian and a former Chief of Staff, was equally contemptuous. "What for? The prime minister has got a perfectly good secretary of state for defence and chief of defence staff. Anyway, we are not running the war. The Americans are."

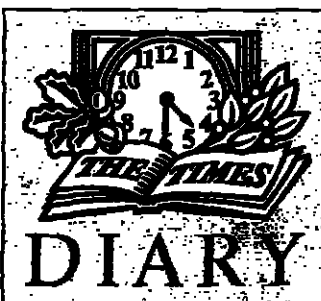
Lord Parkinson, who was a member of the Falklands war cabinet, echoes this thought. "We were the only players in the Falklands war. It was our war, with a little bit of help from the Americans."

Varsity blues

TELEVISION viewers will not be the only ones to miss the exploits of Inspector Morse, the opera-loving crime-fighter who bows out tomorrow night. Oxford bursars are, perhaps, the sorriest of all. Not only are they losing all the excitement of entertaining film crews, but the end of the series also marks an end of the location fees that have so usefully swelled college coffers.

Putting a brave face on things, Commander Simon Stone, bursar of Exeter college, finds consolation in the fact that the Zenith production team chose the Fellows' Garden for the final shot. "We have always used the money from *Inspector Morse* to beautify the college in the area where the shooting took place."

It is appropriate, therefore, that the final shot ever is going to be of the most spectacular view from Exeter, out over the Radcliffe Cam-



era. It is a very new view, as the diseased tree which originally filled the gap was pulled down only a couple of years ago.

Other Morse-funded projects at Exeter include a new fern garden and gravel on the paths.

"But I can't say that there'll be a serious hole in college finances just because *Morse* is ending," Stone says.

Other colleges have adopted a more pragmatic approach. "We spent the *Morse* money on redecorating staircases and repairing furniture for the undergraduates — both things we couldn't have afforded otherwise," says Anthony Woodford, bursar of Magdalen.

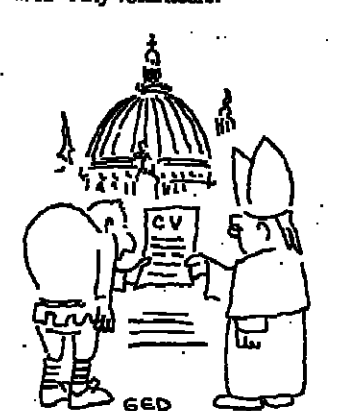
Ring round

GOOD news for City workers. Great Paul, the 17-ton bell in St Paul's Cathedral, which alerted them to lunchtime by tolling at

1pm every day since 1882, will ring again: but only if the cathedral can raise £25,000 to replace the frayed clapper that silenced the bell 18 months ago.

George Cassidy, the archdeacon of London, hopes that those whose lunchbreak is heralded by the bell will contribute. "I'm rather hoping that the people in the City who have been asking me why it is no longer ringing will be able to give a little towards the repair," he says.

Martin Standcliffe, the architect replacing the clapper, says its repair is a challenge. "I'm not sure what we're going to replace it with. Originally it was made with cast iron, but no one makes that any more. It will also be quite a job getting it down. We will have to use pulleys, as it takes three men to lift it." Any volunteers?



A critical decision

MURIEL Spark's career has turned full circle. May sees the publication of *The Essence of the Brownie*, a mixture of Emily and Charlotte Brontë's letters and Spark's critical work, commissioned by Peter Owen, the publisher for whom she worked as editor in the 1950s.

Owen, who published two other critical works by Spark in the 1950s, remembers her as "incredibly efficient. She was my first editor but we were so small back then that she even typed my letters". Spark worked for Owen while writing her first novel, *The Comforters*, at night. Its success was followed swiftly by *Robinson*, and she left Owen after Macmillan persuaded her to write full-time. Owen says it "never occurred" to him to commission a novel from her. "Of course I wish I had asked her but I didn't. It's just one of those things."

Going, gong

THE curse of Maxwell appeared to have descended on John Willbridge, the Liverpool art dealer who last week splashed out £16,100 for Robert Maxwell's Military Cross. Whether it was the intemperate words Willbridge used to describe Maxwell or whether it was Maxwell's off-repeated vow that his MC would be the first thing he rescued in a fire, we shall never know.

By the time Willbridge returned home on Friday the medal had disappeared, leaving him distraught. "I was so worried, I didn't know what to do," he says. "I couldn't face my friends or go to



the party which was organised. I just sat in a pub with one or two of my best friends and felt very sad."

A telephone call to Sotheby's revealed only that the staff he needed were unavailable, and his weekend was spent in lonely reflection of better things that might be done with £16,100.

Yesterday morning his suffering came to a happy end. A telephone call from Sotheby's revealed that the medal had been found or, rather, was not lost. It appears the MC had never left the Bond Street auction house. "They have promised to keep it under the tightest security for me," Willbridge says. "Now I'm going to have that party."

Tyranny's loyal followers

Dictators find strength under fire, says Peter Millar

Shed a tear for old George Bush as he fades into history with a whimper, despite having unleashed more whizz-bangs than any other post-Vietnam American president. Probably the only thing more gallant than having even Richard Nixon say rude things about him is to see his arch-enemy Saddam Hussein still smiling smugly through the smoke.

While American television analysts concentrate on where George went wrong, the Iraqi evening news each night ends with songs of how Saddam's people worship the ground he walks on. Part of this, of course, is simply the propaganda of dictatorship designed to be self-fulfilling. If the Iraqis hear enough songs about how much they love their lunatic leader, then they will eventually assume they do.

But there is more to it than that. The blistering attacks launched against Baghdad and Saddam's desert missile sites have, contrary to Bush's expectations, only increased the dictator's prestige at home. We have accidentally abetted the lion-as-bay syndrome. Saddam, who likes to portray himself as a lion of the desert, has cast America and its allies as big-game hunters unable to strike down the noble beast in his lair despite all their high-tech weaponry. As a result, his standing is enhanced; he is able to strike a pose as figurehead of the nation, using the "emergency" as excuse to tighten the repressive controls that silence any opposition.

It is a tried and tested technique. Dictatorships thrive on crisis. In the absence of the democratic cut-and-thrust, a society under an iron heel needs to create its own sources of tension to save it from atrophy. The best is war. Alexander the Great held his vast empire together only through endless expansionist aggression. When he died, the dynamism was gone and the empire disintegrated. There is a certain cohesive logic to this.

Dictatorships depend on force. Dictators, as a rule, either spring from the ranks of the military or aspire to them, wearing uniform as often as possible. Republican Rome banned its generals from bringing their armies across the river Rubicon to keep their ambitions in check. Julius Caesar broke the rules and gave the world a new concept of supreme power vested in a single individual.

The trick lies in persuading the people that only one man, almost always ruthless and usually at the head of an army, can keep the country together. At its most successful he becomes the embodiment of that nation. Caesar's success can be measured by the fact that all his unrelated successors adopted his family name. At the height of France's power in the 17th century, the Sun King, Louis XIV, inspired loyalty to the most repressive regime in Europe by a version of the same trick, declaring himself to be the incarnation of the nation: "L'état c'est moi." The Nazi myth-makers understood the rules perfectly, as witness Rudolf Hess's ringing declaration at the 1934 Nuremberg party conference — captured on screen forever by Leni Riefenstahl — "Deutschland ist Adolf Hitler. Adolf Hitler ist Deutschland."

Throughout the 1930s the Nazis maintained the necessary tension on two fronts with the propaganda campaign against the Jews at home, and the cultivation of the "underdog" psychology that said Germany was ringed by hostile powers who had victimised it in 1918. Even in the dying days of the war with Bomber Harris's reign of terror over its cities, morale which should have been broken was twisted by Goebbels with his memorable exhortation of the nation to "total war". Hitler's grand vision of the future did not envisage permanent peace. A grumbling war was considered necessary to maintain the unity of the nation.

Russia's experience has proved his point. Stalin's "enemy within" was the land-owning peasantry; when that source of channelled hatred was exhausted, Nazi Germany opportunistically took its place. Without Stalin, Russia's empire might have disintegrated in the 1920s. The terror of collectivisation might still not have been enough to hold the Soviet Union together, but she was against Germany enabled Stalin to summon the church with all its mysticism to his side, so that he could appear the saviour of the nation: the Georgian cobbler's son transmuted into the soul of Mother Russia. And the Cold War continued the con trick. Generations of Russian schoolchildren learned to love the cruel state and listen to Brezhnev because they were taught that they were encircled by enemies.

Of course, it is not just dictators who can use external threats to reinforce national unity. America in the 1950s believed in encirclement every bit as much as Stalin's Russia. It just depended on who was drawing the circle. Recent history aside, Churchill's "finest hour" speeches successfully exploited the British belief in the noble underdog. Short of total military disaster, occupation and trial by his enemies, it is doubtful that external pressure can do more than retrain Saddam. That is little comfort for the people of Iraq in the face of his myth. Germany lost the last unconditional terms when the July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler failed. The proper analogy for Saddam is a cornered rat; he may only be at risk when those closest to him see their escape from the corner lies in getting rid of the rat.

TYRANNY'S
loyal
followers
Dictators find
strength under fire
says Peter Millar



BEYOND THE BUSH ERA

Clinton will need solid allies to deal with Iraq

The latest raids on Iraq have been militarily more effective than the first strike last week. The Zaafairiyah complex has been reduced to rubble. Some of the anti-aircraft batteries missed last Wednesday were hit yesterday morning. Politically, their impact has been disarmingly short of target. Narrowly defined military successes — none of them strategically significant — must not become a substitute for a strategy to bring President Saddam Hussein to heel.

These strikes began on the most cautious of notes. If the military had deliberately set out to ask themselves what would least damage the Iraqi war machine or its military pride, they would have picked the anti-aircraft batteries in the southern exclusion zone. Whatever justification this approach might have had, as a first warning, disappeared with Saddam's scornful reception of the message. Yet there is little sign that the coalition's tactics are being rethought — and there are indications that America is being warned off sterner measures by France and Britain, whose involvement is politically essential to the operation.

Properly applied, the doctrine of proportionality is sound. In Iraq today, it would mean the use of no more force than is required to compel full, unambiguous Iraqi compliance with United Nations demands. But it is a misapplication of the doctrine to permit Saddam's chosen grounds of defiance to dictate the scope of military action, even when that action is clearly inadequate to achieve the necessary political end. Misplaced scrupulousness on the allied side helps to explain why Saddam sees political gain in cavalierly inviting further attacks.

The notes of self-congratulation in Western capitals following each action, particularly those emanating from this side of the Atlantic, are cause for concern. As President Bush prepares to hand over to Bill Clinton tomorrow, the coalition is demonstrably far from "finishing the job". The president-elect has done his best to make convincing noises about the continuity of American policy after his inauguration. But seen through Saddam's distorted prism, the omens look good. Something more robust than the contin-

uation of a policy of military fireworks displays is needed. If Saddam continues to breach the key terms of the Gulf ceasefire, the coalition should be prepared to target the elite formations of his military machine. What chance is there of this when key administration posts in Washington are being vacated, when united officials have yet to be confirmed, when the weight the new president will give to foreign policy is unknown — and when America's most important European allies appear mesmerised by the uncertainties of the transition?

This should normally be a period of unusually strong British influence in Washington. If it proves otherwise, this is not simply because both the Tory party and the Foreign Office have been embarrassed by their ill-judged partiality towards the Bush camp during the presidential campaign. Britain seems to have taken Mr Clinton's "America first" rhetoric on the stump almost as literally as Saddam himself. And the inference the British government would appear to have drawn, whether in Bosnia or Iraq, is to beware of formulating clear-cut policies for fear of being left by the Clinton administration to carry the can.

Mr Clinton's emphasis on domestic priorities should not be taken to mean that this formidable intelligent politician will be unable to chew gum and walk at the same time. To European ears, his talk of working for "a post Cold War world that is a good place for freedom and democracy and market economics and which supports global growth and minimises global misery" may sound all goodwill and Samuel Smiles. But he is evidently aware that America is bound by its power to be an active world player.

The over-riding factor in postwar experience of American politics is that foreign policy forces itself onto the presidential agenda — because of America's power, but also because American presidencies acquire their shine not from the slow slog of health care reforms, but in their foreign policy undertakings. Mr Clinton appears already to have grasped this. But his pledges on the domestic front make him peculiarly reliant on visibly dependable allies.

PRIMARY BASICS

But who will teach the teachers themselves?

From the charred battlefield of primary education has emerged at last the first sign of consensus. John Patten, the education secretary, yesterday accepted recommendations from the National Curriculum Council and the new inspectorate, Ofsted, to overhaul the teaching of five-to-11 year olds over the next five years. Rarely have ministers, curriculum council and inspectors reached such an accord on this contentious issue.

Teacher unions grumbled yesterday about Mr Patten's "arrogance". Yet he has essentially conceded the point which they have made to him repeatedly since he was appointed: that the ten-subject national curriculum is still too bulky and centralised, and that teaching resources are squandered if spread too thinly. Compulsory subjects, tests and published examination results are here to stay. But the five-year review announced yesterday should pare the national curriculum to its essentials and relieve teachers of unnecessary paperwork.

The drive "back to basics" in primary education should mean fewer Whitehall directives to schools competing autonomously in the education marketplace. But it must also mean greater standardisation of classroom methods, as Mr Patten said yesterday in a letter to primary heads.

In doing so, he joined the fiercely political debate that has raged between progressive supporters of the 1967 Plowden Report and the traditionalist lobby which rallied behind the Black Papers in the 1970s. In some respects, this bitter polemical battle has been unhelpful, obscuring the areas of agreement

between the two factions and caricaturing the methods used by primary teachers.

Yet the basic thrust of last year's official enquiry by the so-called "three wise men" — that too many teachers were infected by "highly questionable dogmas" and that "child-centred" teaching failed an alarming proportion of pupils — was confirmed by yesterday's Ofsted report. In contrast, teaching basic literacy and numeracy to whole classes at once has been highly successful in France, Korea and elsewhere. Dividing classes into small groups may appeal to some educationalists, but it has proved a shaky way of teaching fundamental skills.

As a corollary, Mr Patten recommends putting primary school pupils in sets. This should remain a matter for individual schools to organise sensitively, ensuring that all pupils' aptitudes are best served by the level of teaching that they receive. Labour claimed yesterday that Mr Patten's recommendation was a back-door to 11-plus selection. On the contrary, flexible streaming within individual schools is the best chance the comprehensive system has of long-term survival in a culture of educational diversity.

The education secretary cannot impose new teaching techniques by decree. But he is right to insist that governors inform prospective parents of the methods that they do use and that inspectors report in 1994 on the progress made by heads. The true test of his plan will be the promised reform of primary teacher training later this year. Mr Patten now faces the hardest question of all: who shall teach the teachers themselves?

CHAMPERS HAMPERS

Even Champagne cannot control every use of its name

Yesterday in the High Court the ferociously litigious French champagne producers began an action to bar a Kentish farm from describing its cordial as elderflower champagne. This peculiar old native product is neither wine nor alcoholic. In spite of its pseudo-champagne bottle and stepped cork with olive wire to hold it down, it would be difficult to mistake this countryside juice for the real thing.

If the case continues, however, the English will need other arguments: for example, that a century before Dom Pérignon allegedly made his accidental sparkling wine, Samuel Butler referred to champagne in *Hudibras* and George Etherege wrote of "sparkling champagne" in his play, *Man of the Mode*. Three centuries ago French winemakers shipped still and dormant champagne in casks to England where English innkeepers bottled it. In the warmth of an English inn, with the greater strength of English glass to withstand the pressure of carbonic gas, and with the use of cork stoppers common in England at the time, but rare in France, champagne then had its secondary fermentation that made it bubble.

All in all champagne is probably an English not a French invention. It has always been a more popular drink here than in France. Over the years, however, the French champagne lobby has successfully fought for its national pride. It has stopped

Spanish and German producers of sparkling wine describing their bubbles as champagne. It has made Babycham call its cheap and cheerful little bottles "sparkling perry" instead of "champagne perry". The only reason, we suppose, that it has not attacked Darjeeling for being known as the champagne of teas, and a colour of women's underwear being defined as champagne is that no rival advertising campaign has been launched around the taboo label.

It is doubtless right that consumers should be protected from cheap imitations trading on the superlative name. But the EC proposal to ban the term *méthode champenoise* for all wines other than those of Champagne (whose producers never use it anyway) harms consumers, because it denies them information needed to distinguish good sparkling wine made outside Champagne from inferior wines made with an injection of gas.

Time ripens words as well as grapes and elderflowers. In due course, custom erodes the particularity of regional names. Macedonians of all sorts are no longer vexed that a *macedoine* means a fruit salad. Beef is no longer just the ruling elite's name for an ox when it arrived on the table. Champagne is becoming a common rather than a proper noun. But the completion of this linguistic process — like its oenological equivalent — will clearly take time and lawyers' fees.

Long-term shield of UK deterrent

From Dr Julian Lewis

Sir, "Although the [Start 2] agreement virtually wipes out Moscow's ability to launch a first-strike attack", according to your correspondents in Washington and Moscow ("Arms accord leaves US with nuclear advantage", report, January 5), "it only sharply reduces Washington's capability to do so."

Yet, neither country can possibly destroy enough of the other's nuclear warheads to prevent unacceptable levels of retaliation. Nor will this be probable by the year 2003, when Start 2 is due to be implemented, if each retains the 3,000-plus strategic warheads allowed by the treaty.

None of this affects Britain's Trident programme because, unlike Russia and America, we have a policy of minimum nuclear deterrence. It is based on five key principles:

1. As nuclear warheads are weapons of mass destruction, unacceptable levels of destruction can be inflicted by quite small numbers. Additional quantities may serve a political purpose in great-power confrontations, but they do not serve a military purpose.

2. The choice of warhead totals for a minimum deterrent is therefore a technical question, entirely unrelated to the size of the present or future surplus "overkill" capacity of the great-power arsenals.

3. The system must be flexible enough to defeat any technical counter-measures which may be deployed or developed: it must constitute a minimum deterrent at the end of its lifespan, not just at the beginning.

4. Warhead totals must be determined irrespective of short-term political predictions, such as those relied upon by Dr Pullinger and Air Commodore Mackie (letters, January 8). Such predictions could easily be falsified within the lifetime of the system.

5. With a submarine-based deterrent the number of warheads considered must be the total guaranteed to be at sea at any one time, not the total carried on the entire fleet. In the case of Trident this will mean just one boat (with its proposed maximum of 128 warheads) if and when Start 2 comes into effect.

The Trident system will have to protect this country for at least 30 years: more than twice as long as the rise and fall of Nazi Germany. Cuts in surplus capacity are politically desirable, but militarily irrelevant to Britain's minimum deterrent.

Yours faithfully,
JULIAN LEWIS
(Deputy Director)
Conservative Research Department,
32 Smith Square, Westminster, SW1.
January 9.

From Mr Alan Lee Williams

Sir, Dr Pullinger's letter raises salient issues concerning the future of the British deterrent.

A new conceptual basis for defence planning will become necessary by the turn of the century with respect to secondary deterrent systems as sophisticated as the projected British Trident. Any real diminution of Washington's interest in deploying a global anti-ballistic missile system will enhance the credibility of the British deterrent.

British defence planning must stress the importance that we as a nation attach to deterring an attack from adversaries of the first rank. Thus in principle no limit should be placed on the number of warheads on each Trident submarine.

This must remain the case even if we were to deploy a global protection against limited strikes (GPAIS). It can confer only limited protection against a saturation attack in excess of 200 warheads. Thus HM government should support Start 2, but not be drawn into a similar agreement.

By the year 2003 well over 25 countries will possess ballistic missiles, perhaps with offensive chemical warheads (and perhaps as many as eight Third World countries may have nuclear capability). Britain will need both an updated nuclear deterrent and a limited anti-ballistic missile system in place by the end of this decade.

Yours etc.
ALAN LEE WILLIAMS
(Director)
The British Atlantic Committee,
154 Buckingham Palace Road, SW1.
January 8.

Ratty, Toad and Mole

From Mr John Skinner and others

Sir, Three cheers for Sally Feldman, whose article, "Ratty, Toad and Mole" (January 1), really puts the government's official list of essential reading for children into perspective. Lists inevitably constrain: but a list that ignores the work of the last 20 years is impossible to take seriously, for it reflects no understanding of the living and changing nature of our language and culture.

GCSE supported "wider reading": the development of personal taste in literature and, in fact, the emergence of real readers. English teachers, encouraged by this, aim to explore a wide range of texts, to study interesting and challenging language and to extend children's understanding of the power of writing. Literature is to do with ideas, imagination and freedom, and it is impossible for prescrip-

Governing change in prison system

From the Chairman of the Prison Governors Association

Sir, Last month's appointment of Mr Derek Lewis, a former television chief, to be director general of the new Prison Service Agency (report, December 22) creates an important opportunity for change within the service. Mr Lewis's lack of experience of prisons is not greatly different from that of his six predecessors, none of whom had worked in a prison and only one had much experience of working in service headquarters.

We expect that Mr Lewis — like the late Brigadier Mark Maunsell, who was brought in from a business background to be inspector general of prisons in 1968 — will quickly grasp the essentials of the service. We hope that he will be more successful than was Brigadier Maunsell in persuading the centre to devolve real power to governors.

Schools, like hospitals, have supervisory management boards, above the headmaster or chief executive: prisons do not have a comparable structure. If greater delegation to governors means the introduction of supervisory management boards for individual prisons, detailed proposals need to be worked out and publicly discussed.

Now that the contracts have been let to private companies to run two prisons (Wolfe and Blakenhurst), the Prison Governors Association considers that it would be in the public interest for ministers to set up a full independent evaluation of those two establishments to discover what benefits and problems arise. The results should be reported to Parliament and published as soon as possible.

An important task for the new director general will be to ensure that the prison service's views are publicly presented. Governors will be looking to Mr Lewis to provide the visible leadership recommended by the Woolf report on the prison disturbances of April 1990, so that he can begin to earn the confidence and respect of the service.

Yours sincerely,
B. OFFICIEL,
Chairman,
Prison Governors Association,
Horseferry House,
Dean Ryle Street, SW1.
January 15.

Duty-free allowances

From the Deputy Chairman of HM Customs and Excise

Sir, John Cunningham, chief executive of Mintel, wonders (letter, January 11) if anyone thought about UK consumption levels when calculating the "allowances" relating to EC cross-border shopping for alcoholic drinks and cigarettes.

HM Customs and Excise certainly took annual consumption into account. The cross-border shopping guide levels required several months of difficult negotiations. Some member states would have liked substantially higher figures. What was finally agreed was a compromise which all member states could accept.

All excise goods, whatever the quantity, are liable to UK duty if they are sold or held for any commercial purpose. Quantities which exceed the guide levels are regarded as commercial unless the holder can satisfy our officers to the contrary. And because the guide levels for alcohol are quite high, this presumption of "commerciality" will not be easy to displace.

Competitive Britain

From Mr Andrew Lansley

Sir, It is a pity that Howard Davies (January 13) found our basic message that British manufacturing is "on a strengthening long-term trend" so hard to swallow.

Mr Davies does not, it seems, deny that Britain has been the top-performing major economy in terms of manufacturing exports between 1981 and 1991. He admits that British manufacturing productivity rose sharply during the 1980s, faster than Japan's, contrary to his caveat.

The Conservative Research Department study, *The Performance of British Manufacturing*, concluded that, since the shakeout of the early 1980s, British manufacturing has, on a long-term basis, been gaining ground. In that, I thought we were in tune with the CBI, whose report on British manufacturing published just over a year ago stated: "Unfortunately the extent of the transforma-

tion and literature to work happily together.

Guidance for teachers may be necessary, but lists that reduce the experiences books have to offer have nothing to do with education. The test anthology compiled by the School Examinations and Assessment Council (report, January 7) would appear to be even more reducing.

We are not against the books listed but against the omission of so many others. Children must be entitled to access to the wealth of literature, old and new, that is available.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN SKINNER,
ELIZABETH ATTENBOROUGH,
JAMES BERRY,
WENDY COOLING,
SHIRLEY HUGHES,
MARGARET MEER SPENCER,
Liber Press, Kirtley Farm,
Badsworth, Airedale, Somerset.

From the Governor of HM Prison Wandsworth

Sir, Sir Frederick Lawton's analysis of prison problems (letter, December 29) is surely too simplistic. I believe that the Home Office has never had anything so clear as a "policy", either for or against the recruitment of ex-service personnel to the prison service.

Most of the governors of Wandsworth since 1930 have been ex-servicemen. I have been a naval officer myself; I have also been a probation officer, of which Sir Frederick may not approve if I read his comments on social workers aright. I hope that each discipline tempers the other in my work as a prison governor.

Some ex-service officers and NCOs adapt well to work in prisons — others do not. Big differences exist between servicemen and prisoners, and they will not automatically respond to the same disciplinary systems. I must also defend the staff who have no service background but bring other valuable experiences to bear. Our current crop of recruits are of very high quality. They bring skill, energy and enthusiasm to the service and arrive unencumbered by rigid ideas about "tough discipline" or "spit and polish", or the latest sociological theory. If we who manage the service can match their qualities with imaginative training and sound leadership, we shall meet the challenges of prisons in the 1990s.

Sir Frederick's final thrust, suggesting that the present high prison population may be caused by a lack of rehabilitative skills among staff, is especially ill-founded. It would be difficult to compare the raw figures from the 1930s with those from the 1990s because they arise from completely different demographic and sociological circumstances.

I suggest that the prison population has much more to do with attitudes in society, laws and judges than it has with prison officers. In general, prisoners do not fall in prison, but when they return to society, we have to pick up the pieces when all else has failed, and I think that we do a passable job with unpromising material.

Yours faithfully,
GRAHAM CLARK, Governor,
HM Prison Wandsworth,
PO Box 757, London SW18.

Mr Cunningham quotes press reports that we expect to lose up to £600 million in revenue as a result of the changes. I should make it clear that the only estimate we have given is a figure of about £250 million from legitimate cross-border shopping.

Yours sincerely,
VALERIE STRACHAN,
Deputy Chairman,
HM Customs and Excise,
22 Upper Ground, SE1.

From the Director General of The Scotch Whisky Association

Sir, Mr Cunningham misses the point in suggesting that duty-paid personal allowances for alcohol and tobacco are too generous.

In a true single market there should be no restriction on the flow of goods. The only way to pressurise governments into proper excise duty harmonisation is through totally open borders.

Yours faithfully,
BILL BEWSHER,
Director General,
The Scotch Whisky Association,
17 Half Moon Street, W1.

tion [of Britain's manufacturing base] is not widely understood. The experience of recession has reinforced the widely held — though incorrect — belief that Britain's manufacturing base has been run down over the last decade and is unable to compete in international markets.

Competitiveness has increased since those words were written. During the last 12 months, manufacturing productivity has increased by 5.9 per cent and manufacturing exports (minus the more erratic items) by 7 per cent; interest rates have fallen to the lowest level in Europe; and a substantial depreciation of the pound has given a further boost to our goods.

Nobody is saying Britain's manufacturing base is as large or productive as one would like, but we should not sell ourselves short.

Yours faithfully,
ANDREW LANSLEY (Director),
Conservative Research Department,
32 Smith Square, Westminster, SW1.

From Ms Patricia Daly

Sir, Adrian Mole is a splendidly funny portrayal of certain contemporary mores, but will he stand the test of time?

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn epitomises the romance of the 19th-century American wilderness: the sheer range of imagination and mastery of language of *The Wind in the Willows* will ensure its survival; Winnie the Pooh will continue to strike a chord in children; Alice and Peter Pan are timeless.

Today's objections about the upper middle classes etc are irrelevant in the long term — just modish, contemporary claptrap. They have little to do with the magic of childhood fantasy as conveyed by the written word.

Yours sincerely,
PATRICIA DALY,
Hord House,
30 Newbridge Road, Bath, Avon.

Britain's cultural debt to Egypt

From Mr Hugh David

Sir, Simon Jenkins, stating the moral case for the restoration to their original sites of the looted or dubiously-obtained pharaonic monuments now incongruously displayed in London, Paris and New York ("Dead and dismembered on the Nile", January 9), refers only to statuary.

Far more perilous is the fate of the tomb and temple wall-paintings at Thebes, Dendera, Abydos and other places. On a visit last year I was disturbed to see how these were literally being destroyed by tourism. The extraordinarily high humidity levels that sweating visitors produce in the underground tombs is causing paint to flake and fade, while in the temples completely unprotected wall-paintings are being chipped and gouged by metal-framed backpacks and — not infrequently — graffiti knives.

As a first step in the "cultural diplomacy" advocated by Mr Jenkins, should we not be helping the Egyptian conservators safeguard these sites? Tutankhamun's tomb is now closed indefinitely, "for restoration". Should not the rest be?

In France the prehistoric cave paintings at Lascaux are closed to the public. By all accounts, however, that fee-paying public happily accepts the chance to see full-size replicas.

So too, from my experience, would the tomb-worshippers at the Valley of the Kings. Their show tombs could be air-conditioned. Their spending-power would do much to help the Egyptian economy — far more, perhaps, than the mere restoration of the head of Ramesses II to the Ramesseum in Thebes.

Yours faithfully,
H. DAVID,
37d Albert Square, SW8.
January 9.

From Mrs Christopher McCall

Sir, I took up Egyptology on the strength of hearing lectures at the British Museum and exploring its collections: so perhaps I can testify to the power of such a museum to educate and to teach the value of other civilizations.

If these great collections were no longer in our midst the first casualty would be the study of Egypt itself. And when Mr Jenkins suggests that we return these treasures to appease the growing militancy in Egypt, what guarantees does he propose against the destructive potential of that very militancy? Should we also feel bound to return the museum's Assyriological collection to war-torn Iraq?

To say that art belongs only in the country of its origin is to deny its civilizing power. Collections such as those of the British Museum have that power, and we should cherish them accordingly.

Yours faithfully,
HENRIETTA MCCALL,
29 Burgh Street,
Islington, N1.
January 14.

Taxing issue

From Mr Eric Willcocks

Sir, Philip Howard's column (January 14) reflects on the "search for a friendlier name for the process of removing money from the citizens". The great American jurist, Oliver Wendell Holmes, wrote that "taxes are the price we pay for a civilised society", and his words are carved on the face of the Internal Revenue building in Washington.

Those who have neither the courage to raise taxes nor the willingness to pay them would do well to think about the true costs involved.

Yours faithfully,
E. A. B. WILLCOCKS,
12 Forestholme Close, SE23.
January 15.

Sovereign remedy?

From Miss Pamela Howe

Sir, The article about taxol, a new cancer treatment derived from a yew-tree extract (Body and Mind, January 7) reminds me of something that I have been puzzled by in Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* since I first read it 50 years ago.

During the famous scene, which thrilled my schoolgirl heart, when Maxim de Winter proposes to the girl who is to be his second wife ("I'm asking you to marry me, you little fool"), he concludes:

"Instead of being companion to Mrs Van Hopper you become mine, and your duties will be almost exactly the same. I also like new library books, and flowers in the drawing room, and bequeath to dinner. And someone to pour out my tea. The only difference is that I don't take Taxol, I prefer Eno's, and you must never let me run out of my particular brand of toothpaste."

I have never seen any other reference to Taxol; but it seems clear that Maxim suffered from digestive troubles, which may partly explain his moodiness.

Yours faithfully,
PAMELA HOWE,
24 Church Lane,
Clifton, Bristol, Avon.

Business letters, page 25

Letters for publication may be faxed to 071-782 5046.



COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE
January 18: The Princess Royal, Patron, Dunn Nutrition Centre, this morning visited the Centre, Downhams Lane, Milton Road, Cambridge, and was received by Her Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant for Cambridgeshire (Mr James Crowden).

Her Royal Highness, Patron, SENSE, the National Deaf-Blind and Rubella Association, this afternoon visited Manor House Crafts, Werrington, Peterborough. The

Countess of Lichfield was in attendance.
YORK HOUSE
ST JAMES'S PALACE
January 18: The Duke of Kent, Grand Master, the United Grand Lodge of England, this evening dined with the Board of Grand Stewards 1992 to 1993, at Brooks's Club, St James's Street, London SW1.

Commander Roger Walker, RN, was in attendance.

Birthdays today

The Right Rev S.F. Allison, former Bishop of Winchester, 86; Miss Nina Bowden, novelist, 68; Sir Alfred Beit, former MP, 90, the Earl of Carnarvon, 69; Judge Sir Jonathan Clark, 63; Mr Michael Crawford, actor and singer, 51; Mr Bernard Dunstan, painter, 73; Mr Stefan Edberg, tennis player, 27; Mr Phil Everly, singer, 54; Mr Richard Francis, racehorse trainer, 47; Lord Glenilton, 81; Mr W.K. Goldsmith, company director, 55; Mr William Hayden, former chairman, Jaguar, 64; Miss Patricia Highsmith, writer, 72; Mr Hans Hutter, bass baritone, 84; Sir Alex Jarrat, former chairman, Smiths Industries, 69; Mr Richard Lester, film director, 61; Brigadier Helen Macdonald, former director, WRAC, 55; Mr David Newbould, chairman, Rentokil Group, 59; Mr Nigel Nicholson, author, 76; Mr Robert Palmer, singer, 44; Miss Dolly Parton, country music singer and actress, 47; Señor Javier Pérez de Cuellar, former secretary-general, United Nations, 73; Mr Simon Rattle, conductor, 38; the Duke of St Albans, 54; Sir John Stanley, MP, 51; Mr Keith Topley, senior master, Queens Bench Division, 57; the Earl of Wemyss and March, KT, 81.

Dinners

National Liberal Club
Judge Stephen Tumm, HM Inspector of Prisons, was the guest of honour at the Liberal Democrat Lawyers Association annual dinner held last night at the National Liberal Club. Among others present were: Deputy Master John Wall, Mr Robert Macdonald, MP, Mr Bernard Rudd, QC, Mr Anthony Lester, QC, Mr Macdonald, QC, Mr Anthony Day, QC, and Mr David Owen-Jones.

Cardiff Business Club
His Majesty the Lord-Lieutenant, Captain N. Lloyd-Edwards, the High Sheriff of South Glamorgan, Mr Alistair Golley, and the President of Cardiff Business Club, Sir Idris Pugh, were present at a dinner held by the Club at Cardiff Castle last night. The Guest Speaker was Senator Federico Mayor, Director General, UNESCO, Paris. The Right Hon the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, Councillor Derek Allinson, presided.

Luncheon

Rotary Club of London
The Lord Mayor of Westminster was the speaker at a luncheon of the Rotary Club of London held yesterday at the London Marriott Hotel. Mr Neville Shulman, president, was in the chair. The Ambassadors of Bulgaria, Guatemala and Senegal were present.

Reception

The Prime Minister was host at a reception held yesterday evening at 10 Downing Street in honour of the Silver Trust.

Meeting

Royal Overseas League
Dr Michel Schluter, Director of the Keep Sunday Special Campaign, was the guest speaker at the opening meeting of the winter session of the Discussion Circle of the Royal Overseas League held last night at Over-Seas House, St James's. Mrs Elizabeth Cresswell presided.

Sir Hugh Wontner

A service of thanksgiving for the life and work of Sir Hugh Wontner, GBE, CVO, DL, will be held at St Clement's Church, Strand, London, WC2, on Wednesday, March 3, 1993, at noon.



Three Graces: Darcy Bussell, the Royal Ballet principal dancer, launching a new series of stamps at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. The stamps go on sale today and mark the 600th anniversary of Abbotsbury Swannery, Chesil Beach, Dorset. They were designed by David Gentlemen

Anniversaries

BIRTHS: James Watt, inventor, Greenock, 1736; Johann Bode, astronomer, Hamburg, 1747; Auguste Comte, philosopher, founder of Positivism, Montpellier, 1788; Robert E. Lee, Confederate Gen-in-Chief, the American Civil War, Stratford, Virginia, 1807; Alfred

Mynn, cricketer, Goudhurst, Kent, 1807; Edgar Allan Poe, writer, Boston, Massachusetts, 1809; Sir Henry Bessemer, pioneer of steel production, Charlton, Hertfordshire, 1813; Paul Cézanne, painter, Aix-en-Provence, 1839; Augustine Birrell, politician and writer, Wavertree, Lancashire, 1850; Janis Joplin, rock

singer, Texas, 1943. **DEATHS:** Hans Sachs, poet and dramatist, Nuremberg, 1576; William Congreve, dramatist, London, 1729; Pierre Proudhon, socialist, Paris, 1865. The first air raid on Britain by German Zeppelins in the first world war, Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn, 1915.

Woolmen's Company

The Princess Royal has been elected Upper Warden of the Woolmen's Company for the ensuing year. The other officers are: Master, Mr R.J.R. Cousins; Under Warden, Mr C.S. Dennis.

Forthcoming marriages

Mr J.W. Corcoran
and **Miss J.M. Gregory**
The engagement is announced between John, only son of Mr and Mrs Denis Corcoran, of Dulwich, London, and Joanne, only daughter of Mr Alan Gregory, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, and Mrs Patricia Day, of Christchurch, Dorset.

Mr P. Chapman
and **Miss L. Harris**
The engagement is announced between Philip, only son of Mr and Mrs Peter Chapman, of Scarborough, and Lisa, daughter of Mr and Mrs Roy Lack, of Winchmore Hill, N21.

Mr A.E.G. Lewis
and **Miss R.M. Graham**
The engagement is announced between Alexander, only son of Mr and Mrs Peter Lewis, of East Layton, North Yorkshire, and Katrina, only daughter of Major Ian Graham, of Claveston, Lancashire, and Mrs William Sutcliffe, of Great Wymondley, Essex.

Mr D.R.L. McKee
and **Miss A.C. Graham**
The engagement is announced between David, youngest son of Mr and Mrs A.R. McKee, of Bradley Green, Wiltshire, and Christina, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs P.D. Graham, of Chute, Wiltshire.

Mr D.B. Worley
and **Miss E.L. Angier**
The engagement is announced between David, youngest son of Mr and Mrs Graham Worley, and Katherine, daughter of Commander John Angier, RN, and Mrs Jane Angier.

Mr R.C. Macpherson
and **Miss K.M.R. MacLeod**
The engagement is announced between Robert, younger son of Mr and Mrs Rob Macpherson, of The Old Manse, Strathclyde, and Katrina, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs Donald A. MacLeod, of Kinlochfollie, by Dunvegan, Isle of Skye.

Mr J.S. Pittman
and **Miss L.L. Vincent**
The engagement is announced between Jack, younger son of Mr and Mrs Giles Pittman, of Albury, Hertfordshire, and Laura, only daughter of Mr and Mrs John Vincent, of Hinton St Mary, Dorset.

Mr H.M.J. Pope
and **Miss A.S. Fetherstonhaugh**
The engagement is announced between Martin, elder son of the late Mr Henry Pope and of Mrs Elizabeth Pope, of Puddington, Hertfordshire, and Sophie, daughter of Mr Robert Fetherstonhaugh, of Andorra, and Mrs Anthony Cotton, of Abergevy, Gwent.

Mr D.A. Robertson
and **Miss S.J. Grimstead**
The engagement is announced between David, only son of the late Mr A. Robertson and of Mrs Cecily Robertson, of Lower Froyle, Hampshire, and Susan, daughter of the late Mr John Grimstead and of Mrs Patricia Grimstead, of Forest Row, Sussex.

Mr P.J.J. Smyth
and **Miss A.P. Clarke**
The engagement was recently announced in Zimbabwe between Peter, only son of John Smyth, QC, and Anne, and Ashleigh, eldest daughter of John Clarke and the late Patsy, and stepdaughter of Jacques.

Mr W.W. Stancer
and **Miss R.C. Clayton**
The engagement is announced between William, son of Mr J.A. Stancer, of Wick Rissington, Gloucestershire, and Mrs A.F. Stancer, of Leek, Wootton, Warwickshire, and Rosie, daughter of Mr S.W. and Lady Mary Clayton, of Kensington Palace, London.

University news

Oxford
Appointments
Dr James Watson to become Newton-Alabaster Visiting Professor in January 1994.
Dr Susan Nissen to be Professor of Psychology and Head of the Department of Experimental Psychology from October 1.

Cambridge
Lord Ruffell has been elected to an honorary fellowship.
New College
Research to Fellowship Charles King of Arthur Rank and C.A.W. Manning Junior Research Fellow, British Drama, William C. Miller Junior Research Fellow, Edward Greenwell Gullane, C.A.W. Manning Junior Research Fellow, Harold L. Jones, Sir Christopher Cox Junior Fellowship.

TEL: 071 481 4000

PERSONAL COLUMN

FAX: 071 481 9313

For the Lord of Hosts has prepared his plan...

Isaiah 14: 27

BIRTHS

BERKLEY - On January 15th, to Alison and Katherine daughter, Katherine Margaret.

BLANCHETTE - On January 12th, to Kate and Frank, a son, Nicholas Daly.

GALLARD - On January 12th, to Caroline Jane (née Wheeler) and David, a daughter, Christina Eleanor.

SPENCER - On January 12th, to Helen and Robert, a daughter, Emma Caroline, a sister for Thomas.

CROCKFORD - See Joy.

ERESIA - On January 11th, to Vivien (née Williams) and David, a son, Samuel Philip Aaron.

FITZALAN HOWARD - On January 15th, to York District Hospital, to Diana and Gerald, a daughter, Florence, a sister for Arthur.

FORD - On January 13th, to Helen and Robert, a daughter, Madison, New Jersey, USA, a son, Alexander David.

DEATHS

BALDWIN - On January 15th, 1993, peacefully at home, Mary (née Baldwin), 85, widow of the late Mr John Baldwin, a daughter, Mrs John Baldwin, a sister for Mrs John Baldwin.

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OBITUARIES

SIR ROBERT COWAN

Sir Robert Cowan, former chairman of Highlands and Islands Enterprise, died on January 7 aged 60. He was born on July 27, 1932.

FOR ten years until last summer, Robert Cowan was the driving force behind the transformation of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland into a cohesive economic region. He applied business principles to meet the challenge of rural decline in an area dependent on farming, fishing, forestry and tourism.

The son of a distinguished botanist, Cowan took a degree in economics at Edinburgh. He enjoyed an early taste of the Highlands while he was at university, for his father became curator of the National Trust's famous Inverewe Garden on the west coast of Wester Ross, some 20 miles south of Ullapool.

Cowan spent his national service with the education branch of the RAF. His first civilian job was with Fisons the pharmaceutical company,

in Felixstowe, Suffolk. Four years later he moved to the Midlands to become assistant to the sales director of Wolsey, the knitwear company. In 1964 Cowan joined the Birmingham office of FA Management Consultants. There he worked for a wide range of clients including Courtauld's, the Irish Dairy Board, Rank Xerox and the GKN engineering group. This varied experience was to prove valuable when he eventually returned to Scotland. In 1975 PA sent Cowan to run the company's Hong Kong office, where he became responsible for operations in the US, Japan, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia. He was a well-known personality in the Hong Kong business community, taking clients on the company junk as well as windsurfing and yachting in his spare time.

After seven years Cowan was summoned back to Britain by George (now Lord) Younger, then Scottish secretary and himself an old Hong Kong hand. He

appointed Cowan chairman of what was then the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and a member of the Scottish Development Agency. He was an excellent choice, for he treated the whole Highland region as a huge management consultancy problem, spiced with nationalist politics. Cowan ran into a row as soon as he arrived. Only a few weeks previously the prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, marked the end of government intervention in industry by allowing the Invergordon aluminium smelter to be closed. Critics of Cowan's appointment took advantage of the mood to seize on the fact that the government had had to reach half-way across the globe to fetch this, to them, obscure expatriate businessman. For a time, he was known disparagingly as Bob Kow Wan.

But Cowan shook off such slights by demonstrating his wholehearted commitment to the area, making regular forays from his Liverpool base to meet people and take an



interest in such problems as the rundown of the Dounreay power station and the US Navy's decision to close Holy Loch. In 1986 Cowan became the first HIDB chairman to

be reappointed for a second five-year term. He strove to establish the Highland University as a means of encouraging young people to come to and stay in the region, and he used his marketing expertise to encourage multinational companies to site operations there.

He launched many initiatives to reinvigorate the Highlands and Islands. Perhaps the most notable of these was the £16 million project with British Telecom in 1990, to provide the region with an electronic communications system which outstrips any other of its kind in Europe.

In 1991 the HIDB was merged with the North of Scotland Training Agency to form Highlands and Islands Enterprise. Cowan was its first chairman. After retiring from the Enterprise last August, he became chairman of Skye Bridge Tolls because he felt the controversial project needed someone who understood the Highlands. Cowan is survived by his wife, Margaret, and two daughters.

SIR ANTHONY COX

Sir Anthony Cox, CBE, architect, died on January 5 aged 77. He was born on July 18, 1915.

SIR Anthony Cox, a radical architect and avid follower of Le Corbusier's modernist philosophy, was not a well known figure outside the profession. He worked as part of a team which practised under the umbrella title of the Architects' Co-Partnership, or ACP. All of its partners drew the same salary, regardless of their contributions, although individual architects handled particular commissions.

Cox was responsible for a number of distinguished buildings, mostly in the public sector — schools, universities, hospitals, and science buildings. He became the public face of the partnership, and his knighthood in 1983 was seen as recognition for the work of the group as a whole.

Anthony Wakefield Cox, the son of William Edward Cox, CBE, and Elsie Cox (née Wakefield), was educated at Mill Hill School and the Architectural Association, London. He quickly became involved in student politics and edited the AA's short-lived student magazine Focus.

Cox was radically committed to modernism and would use the paper as a forum in which to attack various establishments. In a celebratory piece of vitriol on some pretty flats in Highgate, he accused the popular architect, Berthold Lubek, of the "crimes" of formalism and deviation from pure Functionalism. "It is more than an adjustment within legitimate limits," he wrote. "It is prepared to set certain formal values above values, and marks the re-emergence of the idea as the motive force."

After graduating in 1939, he founded the ACP with ten like-minded former AA students. War soon dispersed the group and Cox found himself engaged on the design of ordnance factories and hostels from 1940-42. In 1943 he joined the Royal Engineers, serving first in Western Europe where he helped to re-establish Belgium's water supplies, and later in India. After demobilisation in 1946 he briefly joined the late

C. H. Aslin and Sir Sirrat Johnson-Marshall in their progressive schools programme in Hertfordshire before rejoining the ACP, now depleted to seven members, in 1948.

The firm's first and best-known commission, completed in 1952, was the Brynmawr Factory in South Wales, a rubber manufacturing plant which was to greatly influence later industrial designs. In many ways a strange, beautiful building with its shell-concrete domes and vaults and its careful relationship to its environment, the factory was one of the first postwar buildings in Britain to be listed. It has since become derelict and is now sadly threatened with demolition.

The ACP's utilitarian principles endeared them to postwar British planners. But compared to some of his colleagues, Cox was a realist who tried to temper his idealism with an eye to what was possible. The ACP's major strength lay in its commitment to practical research. Cox was particularly involved in developing new building types — for schools and colleges, prisons and hospitals. Several of his projects gained major awards.

The ACP was also one of the first English architectural firms to undertake educational projects in developing countries, notably in Nigeria where the partnership opened an office in 1954.

Cox was a slightly built and friendly man with a lively sense of humour. He was a good teacher and, like most members of the ACP, went back to the AA School to pass on his ideas to a new generation. A useful speaker and committee man, he served on the Royal Fine Art Commission from 1970, and on the council of the RIBA from 1967 to 1972. He was also on the council of the Architectural Association from 1956 to 1964 and its president from 1962 to 1963. He was on the board of the Property Services Agency from 1979 to 1981. He was made CBE in 1972, and was knighted in 1983.

In 1943 Cox married Susan Babington-Smith, also an architect. They had two daughters.

MAJOR JOSEF MINSKI



Major Josef Minski, a senior member of Britain's Polish community who fought with Polish units during the struggle for Monte Cassino in 1944, died in Bellingham on December 27 aged 96. He was born in Krakow then a city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1896.

JOSEF Minski had the unusual distinction of serving in the armies of four different nations in three separate wars. In the last of these, while attached to the British 8th Army in Italy he was credited with the key wireless intercept which enabled the Polish Second Corps to take Monte Cassino Abbey.

Minski was brought up bilingual in Polish and German and spoke fluent Russian. During the first world war he served with the Austro-Hungarian Army as a lancer in Count Esterhazy's regiment. Shot out of the saddle during a cavalry charge in 1916, he was taken prisoner by the Russians and put in a POW camp in Moscow.

In 1917, in the turmoil of the Russian Revolution, the camp guards simply walked away one morning and Minski escaped and made his

way to the home of family friends in the Moscow Polish community. They obtained fake identity papers for him and a job as a Russian factory worker. He then waited to attempt to reach France where a Polish division was being formed.

In 1918, he was evacuated from the Crimea to France, where he served with the French Army on the Western Front.

Returning to Krakow (by then in Poland) in 1919, he fought with the new Polish Army in the Russo-Polish War. In a cavalry battle in 1920, he was again shot from the saddle. At a field hospital a surgeon gave him only two hours to live. Seventy years later, he would recount with gusto how his anger with the surgeon for dismissing his life so casually gave him the will to survive. The hospital was captured by the Red Army and he spent two more years as a POW.

Repatriated at the end of the Russo-Polish War, he played a significant role in the establishment of the Polish National Radio Service and by 1939 he was chief engineer for the Lwow station and a reserve captain in an artillery regiment. Ordered to remain at his post with the transmitt-

er, he took no part in the campaign of September 1939 during which Poland was invaded first by Germany from the west and then occupied by the Soviet Union from the east. The military agreed to surrender the city to the Red Army in return for transport to join Polish forces in France.

After the surrender the Red Army ignored its agreement and imprisoned all the Lwow defenders. Minski became an inmate in the Ukraine.

When the Germans invaded in 1941 Minski and his fellow prisoners were forced to go on the infamous Ukrainian Death March in which guards marched the sick and famished Polish prisoners for several hundred miles. Those who fell behind were summarily executed. Minski's shoes eventually fell to pieces and he tore his feet to shreds walking the stony tracks in bare feet. Too ill to continue, he resigned himself to being shot. But two officers from his regiment refused to let him fall on to carrying him on their backs for two days until a railroad was reached.

After a period in hospital in Siberia, he was evacuated to Iraq where he joined the British Army. The Royal Signals were anxious to recruit bilingual German speakers to

man interception units and he was given a commission.

His unit was attached to Polish II Corps, led by General Anders, and landed in Italy in 1944. The Polish ability to translate German tactical-level radio intercepts instantaneously provided a great improvement in Eighth Army intelligence. During the last stages of the battle for Monte Cassino one of Minski's intercepts established that a redeployment of the German paratroopers was to be preceded by a sneak single bomber raid against Cassino town. This gave Anders the critical timing for the final assault.

Minski commanded his unit until the end of the war. Based in southern Italy, it had the task of intercepting Russian radio codes as the Red Army advanced across eastern Europe.

Setting after the war in Britain where he was well known in the sound-recording industry, Josef Minski, like many expatriate Poles, lost touch with his family in Poland for many years, though he was able to make contact with his wife and children in later years. He visited his family in Poland, but by this time his children were adults and he preferred to remain in England.

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PERSONAL COLUMN

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Minister's bid to help ICI fuels power prices row

By Ross Tiesman
INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

TIM Eggar, the energy minister, has sparked renewed calls for a reorganisation of Britain's power market after attempting to reduce electricity prices for ICI alone.

Peter Rost, chairman of the Major Energy Users Council, said Mr Eggar's apparent concession that ICI was paying unduly high power prices "confirms that the market is flawed and needs to be reorganised with a fundamental review." He said all large power buyers must be free to use their market power to win discount prices, as they would be in any commercial market.

The renewed battle over industrial power prices will complicate the government's attempts to cope with short-comings in the post-privatisation electricity regime.

John Toplis, power buying chief at ICI and chairman of the MEUC electricity group, warned Mr Eggar at a meeting yesterday that any concessions to ICI would have to be available to other power users. If that is so, there will also be a hefty impact on the electricity

British Coal stands to benefit from efforts to overhaul the electricity industry's post-privatisation spot market as companies strive to obtain cheaper power

pool, or spot market, which will be obliged to rebalance its income by levying heavier charges on domestic and commercial customers.

Mr Eggar has now agreed to involve the Pool Executive, the pool's governing body, in discussions between the industry department and Oftec, the electricity regulator. The pool committee, including representatives of all 12 regional electricity supply companies, the two biggest generators, and eight industrial users, was alarmed concessions were being discussed in Whitehall without reference to the industry.

Even the chief executive of PowerGen was not informed of the talks. His company has been exploring ways of providing power at lower prices from its Ince plant in Cheshire for ICI's Chlor-Alkali works on Merseyside. ICI has threatened to close the plant, claiming rises in power prices have

made it uneconomic. Many other industries have also been hard hit by price rises in the wake of privatisation.

According to the Pool Executive, the pool selling price so far this year has been on average 32 per cent higher than in the financial year ended March 1991. In addition, bulk purchasers of electricity are obliged to pay an "uplift" charge, which corrects imbalances in the pricing system, that has totalled £289 million so far this year. Exempting industrial users from the charge would enable them to cut costs 5 per cent, but increase the cost burden on smaller customers.

Exempting industrial customers from the nuclear levy would cut their costs by a further 10 per cent, but could also imply imposition of a heavier burden elsewhere.

Tempus, page 25

Coca-Cola launches new drink

Penny Hughes, 33, above, new UK president of Coca-Cola, yesterday launched a sugar free, colourless, colas-tasting drink called Tab. Coca-Cola sells 5 billion soft drinks annually in Britain, and claims its main rival is still tea.

Reserves raid

Aerospace Engineering has halved its interim 0.25p, but dipped into reserves to cover it. Pre-tax half-year profits to October 31 rose to £109,000 (£27,000).

Profits up

British Thomson Holdings' interim profits rose to £301,000 (£20,000) with Masterpack offsetting losses elsewhere. A special 0.25p dividend has been paid and no interim is expected (nil).

Soundtracks dip

Soundtracks pre-tax profits slipped to £350,385 (£545,699). A final 1.35p makes an unchanged 2.2p.

EC sees an end to recession in Britain

FROM TOM WALKER IN BRUSSELS

FINANCE ministers from the European Community yesterday recognised the depth of the recession gripping Europe, and agreed that a multi-billion pound package and favourable international economic conditions are needed before any true "green shoots" can be detected.

A check of light was provided for Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, whose assertion that at least domestic growth in Britain would outstrip the Community average this year was backed up by commission figures. The EC average has been revised down to 0.8 per cent, compared with an estimate of 1.5 per cent a year ago and 2.5 per cent in December 1991.

"We've revised the figures for Europe downwards, but it is significant and interesting that the [European] Commission projects growth in Britain to be faster than the Community average," Mr Lamont said. "They are thinking we will see an end to the recession in Britain this year, but it is disappointing that growth in Europe will slow as a whole."

Henning Christophersen, the European finance commissioner, did not let any improvement in the British situation distract from the fact that Europe as a whole is in difficulty. "It's a dismal picture, because of the deterioration in the German situation," he said. Growth in Britain,

according to the commission, should be 1.3 per cent this year, 1 per cent in France, 0.8 per cent in Italy, and nil in Germany. Economic growth in Greece and Ireland is expected to outstrip that in Britain.

Mr Christophersen called for member states to finalise details of the growth package for the EC, discussed at the Edinburgh summit. He wants a new £4 billion European Investment Fund to be approved by the European parliament next month, and by the council of ministers in March.

The fund, topped up with donations from the private sector, is intended to make financing possible for £48 billion worth of high-speed transport networks around Europe, including the Channel tunnel link.

The ministers approved a new £6.4 billion loan to Italy, to help it overcome balance of payments difficulties. Mr Christophersen said Italian re-entry into the exchange-rate mechanism was not imminent. But he thought the Italian example "could create some sort of paradigm for other countries coming back in". The council issued a statement backing the Irish government's efforts to keep the punt in the ERM.

Ministers concluded that the vital ingredient to accompany the growth package would be a cut in German interest rates.



Depots close but not breweries: the joint venture's Don Marshall

Beer link-up starts but jobs will go

BY MARTIN WALLER
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

CARLSBERG-TETLEY, the joint venture between Allied-Lyons' Tetley beer offshoot and Carlsberg of Denmark, which started trading yesterday, will mean the loss of 100 jobs as both sides close seven unwanted distribution depots around Britain. But Don Marshall, managing director of Carlsberg-Tetley, said none of the venture's six breweries would close.

Overcapacity in the brewing market has led to the closure of various breweries, the most recent, announced by Whitebread last week, being at Sheffield.

Allied is shutting three depots - Nailsea in Avon, Marshfield in Gwent, and Hull. The four being closed by Carlsberg are at Yate in Avon, Stafford, Wilsden in London and Seaford, Edinburgh. A new depot at Newport, Gwent, will replace Marshfield and the two in Avon.

The joint venture was announced in October 1991 but took time clearing regulatory hurdles. The business will have sales of about £1.1 billion.

Nationwide to close 58 estate agents

BY SARA MCCONNELL

THE Nationwide is to close 58 of its 361 estate agency branches at the end of this month, shedding 300 jobs.

The society blamed the continuing downturn in the housing market. It lost £12 million on its estate agency business in the year to end of April 1992.

It said the closures were part of a "continuing drive to improve efficiency and cost effectiveness" and were "part of a process of taking a hard look at our retail structure."

At the peak of the housing boom in the late 1980s, the Nationwide had more than

500 estate agency branches, giving it the largest network of any building society. It has been reducing its agency branches since then, but described this latest move as "a serious step."

Branches earmarked for closure are spread evenly round

the country. A large proportion of the jobs to be cut are those of branch managers and other senior staff. The society said it would be making an effort to find them other jobs within the network but admitted that "opportunities were limited".

MacGregor rejects Branson request

BY HARVEY ELLIOTT
AIR CORRESPONDENT

RICHARD Branson was told last night that there was no chance of British Airways being forced to hand over take-off and landing slots to Virgin Atlantic.

John MacGregor, the transport secretary, explained, over dinner with Mr Branson, that even if he had the power to intervene - and that is doubtful under existing law - his actions would cause an uproar among international airlines that have been trying to fly from Heathrow for years.

Many airlines have been anxious to begin services at Heathrow but have been unable to do so because of the congestion at Britain's premier airport. They argue that it would be against international law for a British minister to take slots away from BA and hand them to another British airline, and that even if new slots become available they would have to be put into an international "pot" for



Hands tied: John MacGregor, transport minister

allocation among all the world's airlines who want to fly there. It is an argument Mr Branson firmly rejects.

The problem of slot allocation at Heathrow and Gatwick has been the subject of fierce, and apparently unre-

solvable, debate among airlines for many years.

In the wake of the successful libel action against BA, Mr Branson is now attempting to reopen the debate on aviation policy and, if possible, create more slots for his airline to mount effective competition against BA. He used last night's dinner engagement with Mr MacGregor to put his case forcefully.

His move, however, seemed unlikely to succeed. Mr MacGregor said recently that the existing slot allocation rules "provide the certainty and stability that airlines need if they are to plan and invest effectively."

Over 20 airlines have begun operations at Heathrow since 1991 when new rules were introduced, he said. "British Midland's share of slots at

Heathrow has gone up from 3 per cent to 14 per cent since 1979 and Virgin, which began operations at Heathrow last year with 28 slots a week is currently using 40 slots a week on three services, and has been allocated slots for another two services this summer," he said.

New EC rules governing the distribution of airport slots lay down clearly that only airlines with fewer than four slots a day at any airport can be treated as "new entrants" and thereby become eligible for special treatment.

More importantly slot allocation has to be "non-discriminatory" and no country could, under the regulations now approved by all EC transport ministers, favour their own national airlines.

Arguably, Mr MacGregor could not even take purely domestic action to order BA to give up certain slots in favour of Virgin without amending the law. And he would then run foul, not only of the EC but of international airlines that would demand their share of any free slots.

At the moment available slots are distributed by Airports Co-ordination Ltd, a completely independent privately-owned company that has as its shareholders the eight main airlines in Britain, and which is now chaired by a delegate from British Midland.

There is general agreement among airlines that they operate fairly and without prejudice. They do not, however, have enough slots to meet the current demand.

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Down and out in Paris to meet a price worth paying

Ross Tieman and Wolfgang Münchau
count the cost of keeping the franc up to the mark

The failings of France lie exposed beneath the sombre skies of a harsh winter: economic and political paralysis, as recession looms darkly. In Lyons, the mayor has opened special accommodation for homeless people endangered by sub-zero temperatures. There are no more "clochards," the boozing tramps who adorn the park benches of many French towns. They are among an estimated 280,000 people pushed on to the streets of France by poverty and crumbling property values.

At Sochaux and Mulhouse, in the east, 2,597 workers at the Peugeot car company are set to join France's fast-lengthening queue of 3 million adults. In Paris, the franc discount store in Les Halles seems busy. But these are bargain hunters. The books and electrical goods they carry off are sold at the expense of other retailers who complain of collapsing sales.

Like many other businessmen, Paul Dubrule, co-president of Accor, France's biggest hotel group, is distressed. Fearful for his jobs, their expense accounts under scrutiny, French executives no longer pack their restaurants at lunchtime. If lunch, the most sacred icon of French culture, is under threat, then something really is wrong in the state of France.

M. Dubrule believes an urgent reflation of the economy is needed. Michel-Edouard Leclerc, left-leaning co-president of E. Leclerc, France's leading retailer, and a canny self-publicist, disagrees. In full-page advertisements in leading newspapers, M. Leclerc has castigated business leaders for seeking an inflationary solution to their problems, and called on them to pass price cuts to hard-pressed consumers through smaller profit margins.

The repeated speculative assaults on the franc have unleashed a public debate on the conduct of French economic policy. Speculators on the London financial markets may think France faces problems, but the unease of the average citizen is tangible.

Ironically, many of France's difficulties echo those experienced by Britain. Property prices are estimated to have fallen by 30 to 35 per cent, undermining financial institutions and the prosperity of individuals.

Unemployment is rising fast, making consumers cautious, creating paupers, and pushing the government into deficit. With growth expectations for 1993 now little better than half the 2.6 per cent on which the budget was based, France is on course for a current year deficit of Fr200 billion. The national pension fund faces a serious shortfall.

Companies, overburdened with debt and battered by falling profit margins, are cutting investment just as the single market heightens competition.

Of course, we should not exaggerate. Recession may be curtailing the ability of French companies to export, but the country still runs a trade surplus, and the forecast budget deficit, at 2.7 per cent of GDP, is relatively modest.



They also serve: Paris waiters have time on their hands as business expense accounts are cut back

Massive public and private investment over the past decade forms the basis of enviable manufacturing efficiency in many industries. This is not Britain. For all its faults, the French economy should be one of the strongest in Europe. But it is this sense of malaise, the notion that things are getting worse, not better, which is provoking the feeling of an impending crisis.

One may accuse the French government of inaction but, in fairness, it finds itself in a genuine policy dilemma. The present level of interest rates (over 9 per cent nominal and 7 per cent real) is incompatible with the need to stimulate an economy on the brink of recession and with a rate of unemployment at more than 10 per cent. Yet, France's external economy and the thrust of the country's foreign policy would strongly suggest a retention of the "franc fort" policy, designed to retain the parity of the franc to the mark within the exchange-rate mechanism.

The argument for the franc fort policy is relatively simple. Caving in to the present set of speculators would only encourage the others and this would guarantee further market pressure in the future. Furthermore, it would raise the legitimate question of why France has pursued an austerity policy for ten years, only to cave in a lap before the end of the run.

Not could one argue that a devaluation was justified on grounds of external or monetary imbalance. France runs a trade surplus in general and has achieved virtual price stability. Hence, there is no reason why the franc's value against the mark should be any less now than it was five years ago.

As Juliette Brisac, a French economist at Paribas Paris remarked, the French political parties may be nearly

divided into right and left when it comes to general fiscal policies, but when it comes to monetary policy, the divisions are all over the place.

The UDF opposition is headed by Valérie Giscard d'Estaing, one of the inventors of the exchange-rate mechanism, and he could never sanction a departure from the only policy that might earn him a small footnote in the history books. In the RPR, the Gaullist party, there are divisions. Edouard Balladur, a former finance minister thought to be prime ministerial material by some in his party, is one of the most vociferous proponents of the franc fort policy. Only this week he ruled out a franc devaluation as being against France's national interest.

The crucial policy difference between Britain and France then is this: while everybody in France regrets the economic crisis, there is a wide consensus within the political and business elite about the benefits of keeping the franc up and inside the ERM, even if this means keeping some of the French down and out on the streets. Until now, at least, opponents of this policy mainly consisted of mavericks, mostly on the right, and they include Philippe Seguin, a Gaullist best known for his anti-Maastricht campaign last year, and Charles Pasqua, the former interior minister. But, even in the case of a centre-right victory, neither can expect a leading economic job in the new cabinet. So the ERM and the franc will remain safe for the time being.

Given the realities of France's perceived national interest, the economic dilemma that the country continues to struggle with will have to be solved by different means. Undaunted by Britain's and Italy's experiences on Black Wednesday last September, most

French economists are quite optimistic that the joint efforts of the Banque de France and the Bundesbank can see off the market speculators. There exists a belief, perhaps naive, in the magic power of interest rate rises and central bank intervention.

But neither is a real solution to the dilemma. With policy unchanged, there is only one thing the French government, indeed any French government, can do. And this is to wait for the Bundesbank to sanction a German interest rate cut.

Given continued price pressure in Germany and the Bundesbank's prevailing monetarist dogmatism, there is little likelihood that the Bundesbank will take account of the need of the French economy for a rate cut of some 3 or 4 per cent. German interest rates will no doubt come down over time, but the big question is whether this will happen in time to save the French economy from sinking.

An outside observer might be puzzled by the French government's policy inaction in the light of increasing signs of poverty — even in such places as hitherto affluent Lyons. Unemployment is clearly going to take centre stage in campaigning leading up to the second round of the French parliamentary elections on March 28, when the right might well regain power.

But France's economic and political elite holds that the country has much to gain from economic union with Germany, and this, as the unfortunate phrase goes, may be a price worth paying. Barring an overwhelming public rebellion, orthodoxy will prevail. So, at growing political risk, the waiting game continues. Perhaps one should call it *En Attendant Helmut*, a tragedy of the absurd, where the choice is between no end at all, or a really rotten one.

TEMPUS

Try, try again Pilkington

THE temptation of spending the devaluation dividend is proving too much to bear for Britain's hard-pressed industries. Pilkington has tried twice to increase its prices, and quickly been forced to offer increased discounts to defend its market share. Now it hopes to push through an 8 per cent rise in the belief that its continental competitors will be forced to follow to relieve their shredded margins.

The logic behind Pilkington's decision is impeccable. The group has increased market share by several points since Black Wednesday as the fall in sterling has given it the lowest prices in the industry. The group believes it will maintain that impetus and boost margins by claiming around half the devaluation for its own.

The decision that echoes last week's increase in steel prices and suggestions in the City that other building materials groups will soon follow Pilkington's lead.

Pilkington's decision may backfire. Pilkington believes that its European rivals are no longer prepared to compete with it at uneconomic prices.

This is a dangerous assumption since they are facing falling demand at home and may well be prepared to ship excess production to Britain at almost any price, simply to keep their production lines rolling. Pilkington may be forced back down the discounting route.

Until yesterday's price increase, Pilkington had boosted its share of the British market to more than 50 per cent, and was reaping important economies of scale from its plants. That rise in market share would have continued if the group had maintained prices, and profits and margins would have benefited enormously.

Instead, if the price rises fail to stick once again, Pilkington's opportunism may jeopardise its future success.

GrandMet

GRAND Metropolitan's annual report graphically displays the shortfalls of the new accounting standards.

The group has been able to restate its figures in line with FRS3, the new convention, to show earnings per share rising 178 per cent to 30.6p. Under the previous system, the figure suffered a more realistic fall of 7 per cent to 30.1p. Little wonder the company decided to comply nine months early.

The disparity shows how much care is needed when judging a company on its earnings per share figures. Under FRS3, these include the profits or losses from any unusual transactions, including disposals. In the two previous years under the new rules, GrandMet's earnings fell 77 per cent.

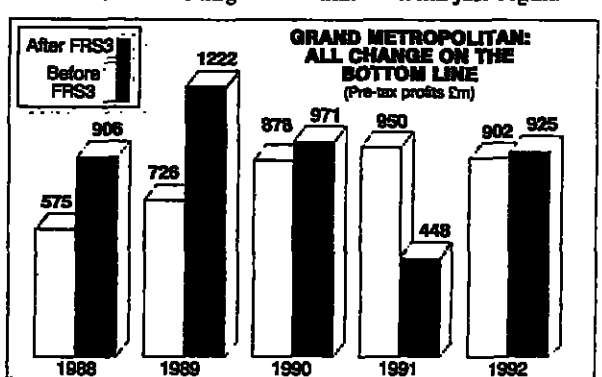
Analysts are examining

methods to iron out these fluctuations, and are likely to start calculating earnings on on-going operating profits to derive a meaningful price/earnings ratio. If GrandMet's EPS is calculated on its operating profit, it shows a fall of around 10 per cent.

The only drawback to this method is that it does not take into account any movement in the tax charge. In

GrandMet's case, this is significant. Overseas tax rose from £15 million to £139 million last year, increasing the total charge \$1 per cent to £217 million.

David Tweedie, chairman of the Accounting Standards Board, says the standard will create more work for analysts and readers of accounts. Judging from GrandMet, that work has just begun.



PowerGen

THE £250 million bond issue by PowerGen shows the electricity generators are learning quickly how to tweak their profits like real public companies.

PowerGen was one of the successful bidders in the government's debt auction last November. It bought in a £150 million issue with a 12 per cent coupon for £169 million. Yesterday's fundraising refinances that issue with funds at 9 per cent and proves that the company has ready access to the capital markets at good rates.

The refinancing also has a doubly beneficial impact on PowerGen's figures. The group plans to charge the £19 million premium it paid for the government issue against current year profits, as a one-off exceptional provision. A conservative policy, but one with the useful side-effect of restraining PowerGen's pre-tax profits when the electricity companies' profits are under public scrutiny.

In future years, the group's profits will be boosted by £4.5 million in interest savings —

enough to satisfy shareholders once the public outcry has died down.

PowerGen's board could have decided instead to amortise the cost of the auction over the next decade, which would have left it with a net gain of £2.6 million a year. This would have been a more realistic approach, but nowhere near as politically adept.

Gestetner

GESTETNER, the office equipment supplier, yesterday put a brave face on its failure to sell Vivitar and Hanitex, its camera businesses, to Concord Camera Corporation.

Gestetner claims it has another buyer waiting in the wings willing to offer a similar price. Shareholders should hope the deal comes off this time. Gestetner does not need to make a fire sale, but a well-priced disposal would usefully strengthen the balance sheet. Superficially, gearing looks comfortable with borrowings of £97 million amply covered by shareholders' funds of £262 million. But

that figure includes a £39 million pension fund surplus and the company has large off-balance sheet lease commitments.

The sale makes strategic sense, too, as cameras are entirely peripheral to the core office equipment business. The proceeds of any sale will also ease the pain to come in Gestetner's European operations, which account for 55 per cent of sales and are already being hit by the looming recession.

Retailing

REPORTS of a high street stamped in the weeks before Christmas were widely exaggerated if the CBI distributive trade survey is anything to go by. The overall picture of a small fall in retail sales, partially offset by bright spots in groceries and clothing, lends little credence to suggestions of consumer-led recovery.

With the Christmas boom now exposed as mere hype, the sector could see some selling, especially of high flyers such as Storehouse, Next, Burton and Dixons.

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Strong pull to the windy city

SALOMON Brothers' head of international investment banking in London, William Strong, has resigned unexpectedly. He will join the Chicago office of rival firm Morgan Stanley, and is due to start work there today. In view of his seniority and reputation, observers have been expressing surprise that Strong has decided to retreat to the relative backwaters of Chicago, instead of seeking a high-profile position in New York. However, Strong, who is said to have resigned for personal reasons, is originally from the American Midwest and so the move is a return home for him. He started at Salomons in 1979, in his New York office, and was posted to London in 1991. "He has recently completed some internal restructuring, and has left the business in good shape," says a spokesman from Salomons. Stephen Posford and Dennis Keegan, co-chief executives of European operations, will lead the European investment banking side until a permanent replacement for Strong is identified.

Williams wins

CITY punters are far more sophisticated than some options traders realise — if the flurry of interest in the England vs France rugby international on Saturday is anything to go by. The match, a cliff-hanger with England winning by just one point, proved an ideal scenario

for the first rugby options trading market held at the Meridian Hotel, Piccadilly. "There was some very fast market making at the beginning," organiser Laurent Bodard, of Société Générale, says. "Traders got in quickly, much more quickly than I had expected, but many had to readjust their positions later." No money officially changed hands, with three prizes of week-long holidays for two in Cairo, Dakar or Lisbon the only incentive. The winner of the telephone category — other entries came in from the outcry pit at the Meridian or via MiniTel terminals in France — was Peter Williams, group treasurer of Courtaulds Textiles, who was watching the game at Twickenham. "My strategy was to sell call options at the beginning of the game, when an England win of ten points was favoured," says

Williams, a keen rugby fan. "In the end, it was just an educated guess." With characteristic group treasurer's caution, Williams says he will study the political situation in Cairo, Dakar and Lisbon before deciding where to spend his prize. "I like the sound of Cairo though, and I will be taking my girlfriend," he says.

Short in the arm

MORT Zuckerman, the American publisher modelling his ex-Maxwell Daily News in New York on the Daily Mail, has stunned American television breakfast audiences with the justification of his strategy to attract women readers. "Women readers prefer tabloid newspapers because their arms are shorter," he said. Zuckerman, former escort of feminist Gloria Steinem, claims the research for this theory was carried out by the Daily Mail.

Capel digs on

THE closure of James Capel's mining desk has, it seems, been much exaggerated. Exasperated after receiving a stream of telephone calls on Friday, John Carrick Smith, a salesman — and deputy head of the department — on the adjacent Australian desk contacted the City Diary to say: "Please help us scotch these rumours. We have even had one call from America, but it is simply not true. We are all still here, as a unit, and making money because we have been trading currencies like the rand. People also seem to for-

get that stocks like De Beers have risen 35 per cent in the last three months." Carrick Smith, 35, thinks the erroneous rumours may have started because several other houses, including Warburg, have disbanded their mining teams. "Nevertheless, Warburg does still have a couple of very good salesmen, whom we regard as competition, and we also compete against CL-Laing."

NOTICE on a desk in an insurance broker's office in Bristol: "I'm a walking economy. My hairline is in recession, my waist is a victim of inflation and together they are putting me in a deep depression."

At the double

LOUIS Vuitton, the purveyor of luxury luggage, has observed strange buying habits at its City branch at the Royal Exchange. Despite the high prices, City men often buy two gifts at once. One pre-Christmas customer, for example, spent £900 on a vanity case for a "client's wife" and a further £130 on a purse for his "secretary". "The gifts often go in twos," admits a spokeswoman. "One for their wives and one for their mistresses." Such festive spending sprees aside, Claire Harboure, the shop's UK general manager, says that corporate gift budgets are no longer as generous as they used to be. "The Japanese investment banks are the only ones making seriously regular corporate gifts at the moment," she says.

CAROL LEONARD

Business Letters

Making the case for an oil regulator to ensure fairness in the industry

From Mr Maurice Redman Sir, The fragmented approaches being made to inter-related aspects of our energy requirements bode ill for evolving a coherent optimised policy.

Currently escaping, however, is the unregulated oil industry with its large markets for natural gas, fuel oil and traction. The questions arise whether there is true competition between oil companies, having regard to their complex inter-relationships, possibly devised outside this country, and whether revenues are "unacceptably" siphoned out of Britain in the prices of crude oil or products. Oil is sold in competition with gas (from British Gas) for industrial loads, yet that gas may have been bought from the same oil company. The dominance of the oil industry recalls that of the National Coal Board in the 1950s when it controlled the key raw material of the gas and electricity industries with whom it directly competed in the marketplace. The result was undesirable price escalation.

The bastion of competition against the oil industry has been British Gas, with its own exploration, production and marketing resources. Now,

paradoxically, Ofgas has forced British Gas to yield a large part of its industrial market to oil companies. A new oil regulator seems desirable to ensure fairness in the oil sector. Is the use of any premium natural gas for electricity generation wise when it is of lower efficiency than direct use? Until now, gas resources have been conserved and not sacrificed for short-term quick profits. If the government allows gas to be used for power generation and if unbridled competition is God, it makes as much sense for British Gas to build its own large generators and sell electricity in competition with National Power and PowerGen as it does for regional electricity companies to sell natural gas. In privatised industries generally, there is a growing problem of regulators who have power without responsibility, are without direct broad experience in the industries they regulate, whose terms of reference have been ill specified and who, in the national interest, need to be better supervised and guided.

So far as the important energy industries are concerned, in order to sort out the unco-ordinated hotch-potch of regulators, competition, en-

quiries and referrals, bearing in mind the long-term view, the prime minister should restore the ministry of fuel and power and give it the job.

Yours,
MAURICE REDMAN,
Avington,
2 Cramond Regis,
Edinburgh.

VILLA DEI CESARI RESTAURANT

RAVATTE WITH HIS VIOLIN SERENADES YOU AT YOUR TABLE. EXCELLENT CONTINENTAL CUISINE OVERLOOKING THE RIVER FRAMES WITH ITS BREATHTAKING VIEWS. DANCE FLOOR WITH LIVE BAND.

"SPECIAL" 6 COURSE DESSERTS MENU AT £20.00 PER PERSON

MENU DEGUSTAZIONE

Minimum Two Persons

Next of Scallops with Quail Eggs and Basil Sauce

or

Gratin of Green Noodles

Fillet of Dover Sole with Ginger, Lime and Dices of Lobster

Sorbet of Pink Peppers and Fresh Mint

Sliced Breast of Duck in a Prune Sauce

Lamb Fillets served with Liver Pate and Black Truffle Sauce

Sweets, Coffee, Petits Fours

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Portfolio

From your Portfolio Plus card check your share price movements on the day only. Add them up to give you your overall gain and loss. If it is positive you have won outright or a share of the daily prize money. If you win, follow the claim procedure on the back of your card. Always have your card available when claiming. Game rules appear on the back of your card.

No.	Company	Group	Code or Name
1	Bentley	Building	Bentley
2	ICI	Chemicals	ICI
3	Heimann	Banking	Heimann
4	Procter & Gamble	Consumer Goods	P&G
5	Unilever	Consumer Goods	Unilever
6	Glaxo	Pharmaceuticals	Glaxo
7	Roche	Pharmaceuticals	Roche
8	Novartis	Pharmaceuticals	Novartis
9	Land Securities	Property	Land Sec
10	British Telecom	Telecommunications	BT
11	British Airways	Air Transport	BA
12	British Petroleum	Oil	BP
13	British Gas	Utilities	BG
14	British Airways	Air Transport	BA
15	British Airways	Air Transport	BA
16	British Airways	Air Transport	BA
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40	British Airways	Air Transport	BA

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Please take into account any minor signs

£1,000 MATCH THE SHARES

If you have ticked off your eighth share in our Match The Shares game today, claim your prize by telephoning 0254 53272 between 10.00am and 5.30pm (see the Sunday Times for full details).

Four winners equally share the £2,000. Mrs M Baker, Lightwater; Mr J Burrell, Billericay; Mr J Holroyd, Brighton; and Miss E Goodridge of Bristol.

(1992/93 High Low Company Price % Net Yld P/E)

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

1	Barclays	Banking	Barclays
2	HSBC	Banking	HSBC
3	London & Lancashire	Banking	L&L
4	Paragon	Banking	Paragon
5	Prudential	Banking	Prudential
6	Royal Bank of Scotland	Banking	RBS
7	Santander	Banking	Santander
8	Trustee Savings Bank	Banking	TSB
9	Windsor	Banking	Windsor
10	Yorkshire Building Society	Banking	YBS
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BREWERIES

1	Adnams	Brewing	Adnams
2	Beck's	Brewing	Beck's
3	Carlsberg	Brewing	Carlsberg
4	Guinness	Brewing	Guinness
5	Heineken	Brewing	Heineken
6	King	Brewing	King
7	Labatt	Brewing	Labatt
8	Miller	Brewing	Miller
9	Newcastle	Brewing	Newcastle
10	Reck	Brewing	Reck
11	Stout	Brewing	Stout
12	Tennent	Brewing	Tennent
13	Watney	Brewing	Watney
14	Windsor	Brewing	Windsor
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BUILDING, ROADS

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BUSINESS SERVICES

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CHEMICALS, PLASTICS

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DRAPERY, STORES

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ELECTRICALS

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Shares held back

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began yesterday. Dealings end January 29. Settlement day February 1. Forward prices are based on the previous day's close, but adjustments are made when a stock is ex-dividend. Changes, yields and price/earnings ratios are based on middle prices.

1992/93 High Low Company				1992/93 High Low Company				1992/93 High Low Company				1992/93 High Low Company			
Price	Net	Yld	P/E	Price	Net	Yld	P/E	Price	Net	Yld	P/E	Price	Net	Yld	P/E
per	div	div		per	div	div		per	div	div		per	div	div	
340	100	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1
127	100	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1
127	100	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1	310	80	80	14.1
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LAW

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LAW REPORT 31

The right privacy road

Calcutt's intent is good, says Peter Carter-Ruck, but there is room for improvement

The lack of a law of privacy in this country has led to a small number of tabloid newspapers brazenly exploiting details of the private lives of those sometimes only marginally known to the public. This has been to the great distress of the victims and their families, and has undeniably enhanced newspaper circulation at the expense of most of the press.

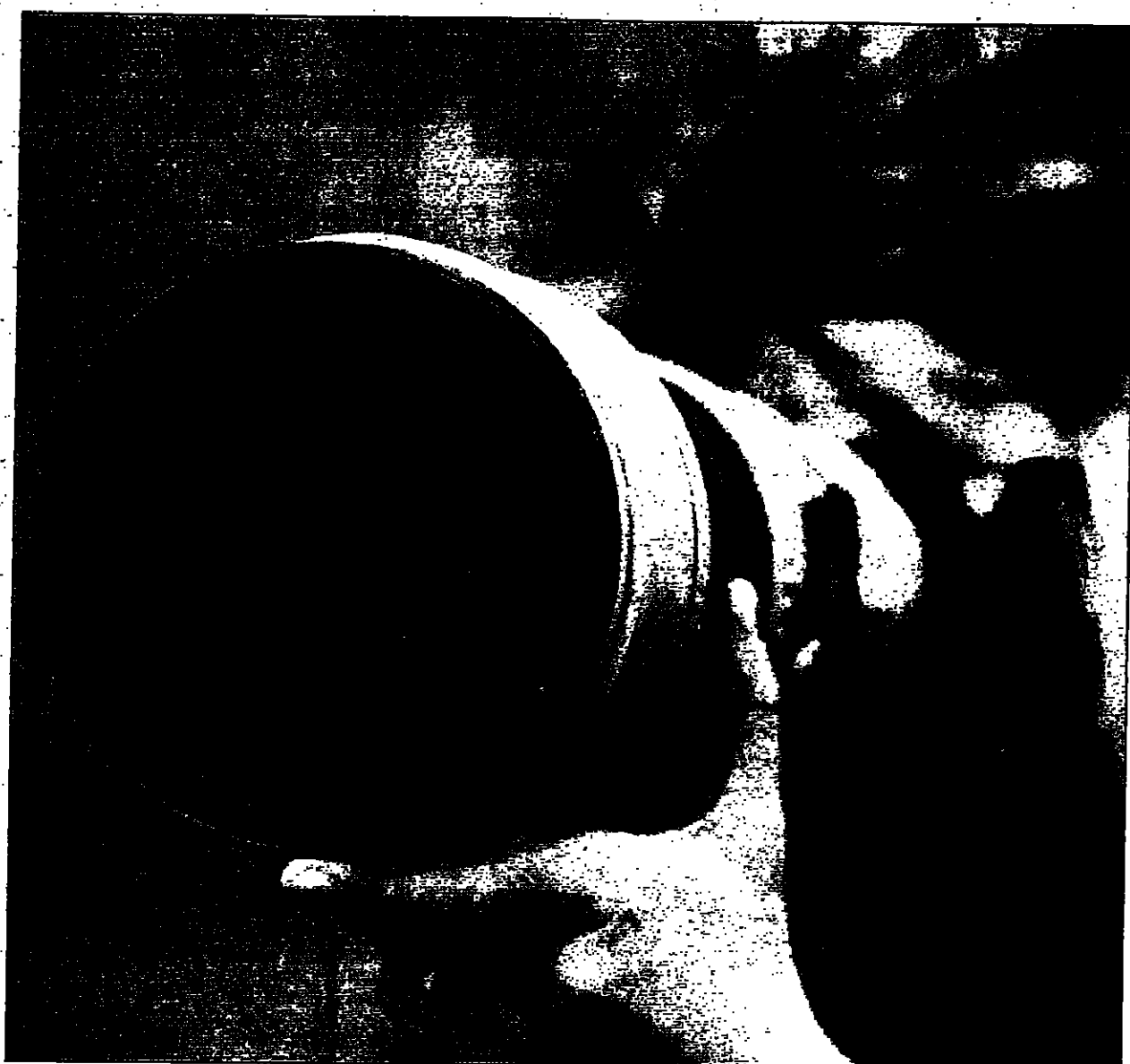
The publication of photographs, obtained by the use of telescopic lens, of the Duchess of York topless in the private residence she had rented increased the circulation of one newspaper by 583,000 copies. More than ten years ago, Justice, the English section of the International Commission of Jurists, published a report, "Privacy and the Law", which drew attention to article eight of the European Convention on Human Rights, to which our government is a party, and which provides that everyone has a right to respect for his private and family life.

The report examined in detail the law of privacy in other countries and concluded that there should be a right of action for infringement of privacy in Britain. Its absence, as I wrote in *The Times* more than four years ago, has led to the recent abuses.

Now, after publication, first, of the report by the committee under Sir David Calcutt in June 1990 and, second, of his review of press self-regulation last week, the introduction of a right of action for infringement of privacy has at last been recommended.

It is regrettable, however, that, though I would not maintain that Sir David Calcutt's report is fatally flawed, it is certainly defective in several important respects. It recommends the setting-up of a press complaints tribunal with judicial status, its chairman to be a judge or senior lawyer appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and with what some consider to be draconian powers to restrain publication of material allegedly in breach of the code of practice.

Second, it recommends legislation to introduce three criminal offences. These proposed offences — the placing of a surveillance device on private property, the use of such a device in relation to an individual on private property and taking a photograph or recording the voice of an individual on private property — in each without consent — seem to be inherently faulty in that they constitute offences only if the act has been committed "with the intent to obtain personal information with a view to its publication". To commit such an intru-



Invasion of the picture snatcher: any law preventing infringement of privacy should include defences to aid press freedom

sion without a view to publication would therefore not be an offence. If the offender is apprehended before publication, how does one prove that he or she intended to publish?

Third, apart from these flaws, there is a fundamental objection to creating a statutory tribunal and to invoking criminal offences intended only to apply to the press.

These recommendations, if implemented, would provide a halfway house to the introduction of the press laws which

law in England in the latter part of the 17th century. These severe restrictions were designed "for preventing the frequent abuses in printing seditious treasonable and libellous books and pamphlets and for regulating printing and printing presses".

I argued in submissions to the Calcutt committee and review that it would be better for the press to enjoy self-regulation, with power both to impose a code of conduct and to fine and impose sanctions,

rights, generally accepted to embrace the bounds of the concept of privacy both in America and in several European countries.

● To prevent appropriation of one's likeness or name for commercial gain.

● To prevent intrusion into one's private domain.

● The right to prevent public disclosure of private facts.

● The right to prevent a person being placed in a false light to a public audience.

The essential defences any privacy law must enshrine are that the infringement constituted publication in the public interest (not with the restricted ambit recommended by Calcutt but the many-sided concept well understood by the judiciary); that the defendant's act was reasonably necessary for the protection of the person, property or lawful business or other interests of himself; that the infringement was for the purpose of exposing crime or iniquity (a concept understood in the field of breach of confidence), and last that the defendant acted under authority conferred on him by statute or any rule of law.

There have been three arguments against introducing a simple law of infringement of privacy. First, that the concept is difficult to understand. If this is so, why is it that other countries for many years and the US for more than 100 years have been able to operate

such a law successfully? Second, that the concept of public interest is difficult to define. But judges understand this well. Third, that it would be hard to assess compensation.

On this, jury trial would be inappropriate because, at the beginning, there would be no precedents and because, while damage to reputation can be well understood, damage to privacy, with the compensation assessed by a jury, would encourage punitive awards.

Privacy trial therefore should be by judge alone.

● The author is a leading libel lawyer.

Criminal offences would provide a halfway house to press laws like those of the 17th century

expired at the end of the 17th century. Then there was no real freedom of the press and Parliament invoked three different methods of restricting freedom of expression:

● Under the criminal law, it punished the publication of any treasonable, seditious or blasphemous books.

● It gave considerable powers over printing and publishing to a City of London livery company — the Stationers — which was created to supervise the printing industry.

● It issued decrees for the organisation and control of printing.

Thus was created the press

as well as being able to deal with complaints, as does the Law Society and other professional or semi-professional bodies.

I also said that existing curbs on the press in the field of reporting give grounds for justifiable criticism by the press; and that these are detrimental to the provision of information for a well-informed society.

However, I support a law of infringement of privacy as a civil right of action, provided the statute includes a series of defences adequate to protect press freedom. The right to privacy covers four different

INNS AND OUTS

lands. The directive also appears to confuse recycling with incineration so that the recycling symbol could appear on packages that can only be burnt.

Digging for dirt. PROSPECTIVE buyers in England and Wales will soon be able to consult a town hall list to discover whether the land they want to buy is contaminated.

Under the Environmental Protection Act 1990, local authorities will be required to keep the list. When the regulations come into force this year, councils will be allowed about 15 months to compile it. The list will be in two parts, one showing contaminated land not investigated or treated, the other showing sites on which there has been investigation or treatment.

However, because of cost, sites will be listed on the basis of known contamination, not new specialist surveys. The onus

is also on buyers to discover whether there is contamination. The regulations are highlighted in a review published by Stephen Lake Gilbert & Palling, a City of London solicitors' firm specialising in land and property law.

Wizard from Oz. NEVILLE Thomas QC's chambers at 3 Gray's Inn Place is boosting its international strength by taking on Professor James Crawford as a member of the set.

Professor Crawford — educated at Adelaide and Oxford universities — will practise at the Bar at the same time as holding Cambridge's Whewell chair of international law, which he took up last year. At 44, he already has a reputation as a leading international lawyer.

Sloping off to work. LORD Donaldson, former Master of the Rolls, was skiing when the call came to ask him to chair the Braer oil disaster enquiry. Lord Donaldson, who is 72, made clear when he left the Court of Appeal in July that he would be not be giving up work. He had already landed one high-profile job: at the end of October he became chairman of the newly created City of London financial law panel.

SCRIVENOR

Lord Devlin, September (1) Duplicitous, (2) ... public relations exercises; October (1) Children Act 1989, (2) Will Power, make a will; November, (1a) Paul Henderson, Trevor Abraham, Peter Allen (1b) Kenneth Clarke, Malcolm Rifkind, Michael Heseltine, Tristan Garel-Jones (1c) Alan Clark; December, Michael Heseltine

February, (a) Simon Berkowitz, (b) Bates Wells and Braithwaite; March, (1) Michael Freeman, (2a) £2 million, (2b) 4 years; April, (1a) Jason Donovan, (1b) More than £200,000, (2) George Staple; May, (1a) Midlands Services

THE winner of the quiz was Gillian Phillips, of the BBC television department, who wins a mugshot of champagne and has donated her cash prize, £100, to the Samaritans. Ms Phillips was the only entrant to answer all questions correctly and complete the tie-breaker in the requisite number of words.

More than a matter of black and white

MEN of Afro-Caribbean origin account for more than 10 per cent of those serving a sentence of imprisonment (for detention in a young offender institution) in England and Wales. This is almost nine times their proportion in the population at large. Nearly a quarter of female prisoners are black, although a substantial number are foreigners imprisoned for importing drugs.

This week, Oxford University Press publishes *Race and Sentencing* (£35 hardback, £12.95 paperback), the first substantial study of the sensitive, but important, question of whether, and to what extent, this over-representation of black people in detention is due to race being a factor in crown court sentencing.

Until now, discussion of these matters has proceeded largely by reference to assertion and anecdotal evidence about the occasional judicial insensitivity to race relations or stereotyping of defendants. In 1978, for example, Judge Neil McKinnon told a jury hearing a charge of incitement to racial hatred that though he was white, he was, curiously, nicknamed "Nigger" at school, and had not resented it. Last year, an assistant recorder was criticised by the Lord Chancellor for commenting in court that a particular type of crime was "far too prevalent among the Nigerian community".

The research was conducted by Dr Roger Hood, Reader in Criminology at Oxford University, and his team at the Centre for Criminological Research, with funding from the Commission for Racial Equality. The study analysed the files for every identified ethnic minority male convicted and sentenced at Birmingham, Dudley (now Wolverhampton), Coventry, Warwick and Stafford crown courts in 1989, and an equivalent-sized random sample of white male offenders. The files of women sentenced by those courts were also considered.

Dr Hood and his colleagues found that the proportion of black men sentenced to custody was just over eight percentage points higher than for whites (56.6 per cent against 48.4 per cent). By contrast, Asians were sentenced to custody less often than either whites or blacks (39.6 per cent).

After analysing the cases through detailed statistical methods to allow for variables, the conclusion reached is that about 80 per cent of the over-representation of black male offenders in the prison population is because of the numbers of such persons sentenced and the nature and circumstances of the offences of which they are convicted. Thirteen per cent of the over-representation was the result of a higher proportion

of black offenders pleading not guilty, and so receiving longer sentences on conviction. Seven per cent was due to differential treatment for which there was no adequate explanation. Significant variations showed up between the various crown courts.

The findings should provoke thought within the legal profession. The study does not support any suggestion of blanket race discrimination. Asian offenders did no worse than whites. If black women offenders were more frequently sent to custody than white women, this was consistent with the circumstances of their offences. There is, however, no cause for complacency. The study demonstrates that the differences in sentencing "were sufficiently large to be to the disadvantage of a considerable number of black defendants". While no statistical analysis is so rigorous that the only credible explanation for the variations in sentencing practice is that race is sometimes a factor in court decisions, albeit not as frequently as critics of the judiciary have suggested.

There are important lessons to be learnt from this scholarly and readable book. The Ethnic Minorities Advisory Committee of the Judicial Studies Board, under Mr Justice Brooke, should continue its work of making judges aware of the need to avoid unconscious bias. The Criminal Justice Act 1991 requires the home secretary to publish information annually to help those administering criminal justice not to discriminate on grounds of race (or sex). He should require crown courts to monitor the ethnic origins of all defendants so that sentencing trends can be assessed. Consideration should also be given to methods of reconciling the practice of giving discounts for guilty pleas with the greater reluctance of black defendants to plead guilty, and the consequent longer sentences served by them.

Dr Hood received considerable co-operation from the Lord Chancellor's department and the staff at the various Crown Courts. However, when he sought to interview the judges who had dealt with a substantial number of the sample cases, their initial agreement was frustrated when they were "instructed by the powers that be" in the judiciary that my request should not be granted.

Few lawyers would want to be associated with so insular an attitude to reputable research on a topic of vital importance to the integrity of the sentencing process.

● The author is a practising barrister and a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford



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Small firms see profits slump

Times are hard in the regions but cutting jobs is not always an easy option, says Sean Webster

For many law firms in the regions, 1992 was the least profitable year for the past decade, according to a survey published today. The study, Paragon 93, produced by the Winchester-based Centre for Inter-firm Comparison, shows that the average profits per partner for provincial firms fell from £25,000 in 1991 to £11,000 in 1992. Some 30 per cent of the firms in the study were loss-making compared with only 7.5 per cent in 1991. The study covered 150 firms of all sizes which made available in-depth details of their accounts.

The picture is in stark contrast to the upbeat findings of a recent survey by *Legal Business* magazine. But that survey looked chiefly at the top 30 regional firms, which have held their own well and in many cases — in particular the big Leeds firms — fared far better than London firms. For many medium-sized firms in the regions, however, the picture is much bleaker, as it is for many firms in the South East who are outside the capital.

Mike Moffat, project director of Paragon 93, says the slump in regional firms' profits had two main causes. "Provincial firms didn't use the option to rationalise their staffing in 1992 and high street firms continued to suffer from the lack of conveyancing stemming from stagnation in the property market."

He adds: "The emotional difficulty of creating redundancies in a small office where people know each other well seems to have deterred partners from making the necessary staffing cuts."

Moffat believes that many provincial firms must now consider closing unprofitable branch offices. One problem facing provincial firms is that they have a large number of partners compared with fee earners. Therefore if they cut the number of fee earners this will add to the structural imbalance and lead to partners being forced to do less profitable, mundane work.

The South East has been particu-



larly badly affected by the recession. All those studied in this region showed lower profit levels than in 1991. Leona Daniel, of the three-partner Brighton firm Harper Daniel Wedd, says her firm has survived the recession by making dramatic changes to the type of work undertaken. "I switched from specialising in conveyancing to mainly family work and another partner has changed from conveyancing to legal aid." However, with the present uncertainties about the financial incentives in the Legal Aid Board's franchising scheme she says the firm is now much more dependent on legal aid work than she would like.

This financial pressure has caused solicitors to call on the Law Society for an abolition or suspension of the minimum salaries for trainees, £10,850 in the provinces, £11,850 in outer London and £12,150 in inner London. Noel Housley, president of Sheffield and district local law society, says:

"Many practitioners in South Yorkshire consider that minimum salaries have priced the trainee solicitor out of the market and they have abandoned plans to take on any for the foreseeable future."

But John Balesdon, chairman of the Trainee Solicitors Group, counters this argument. "Abolishing a minimum wage would be a return to the bad old days when access to the profession was determined by how much one's parents earned rather than ability." He says the cost of training has already unfairly stacked the system against less affluent law students. He says he still owes £1,000 in loans taken out to pay for his legal tuition and living costs while at law school.

The recession has also affected London firms but less than those in the regions. According to Paragon 93 the average profitability of firms in the capital fell slightly during last year. Litigation was the fastest growing area, up by about a quarter on the previous year, with

every firm's litigation department experiencing some growth in revenue. Commercial work was the most profitable activity, contributing £49,000 per department member, followed by litigation. Conveyancing and trust and probate were less profitable, yielding a contribution of around £35,000 per head.

Mr Moffat believes that London firms suffered less than those in the provinces because they, along with a few large metropolitan city firms, benefited from the growth in litigation work. He also thinks that city firms have been able to cut staff working in unprofitable areas more easily. "Redundancies are easier to make from an emotional standpoint in large impersonal organisations than in small firms," he says.

A further factor is that London firms have a higher ratio of staff to partner so that partners' jobs are

not usually at risk and it is easier to identify departments where cuts can be made. He predicts that 1993 will be a bleak year. Some economists have suggested that there may be an upturn in mergers and acquisitions work as companies which have come through the recession in a strong position look for cheap bid targets. However, this activity will generally benefit only the big City firms.

Mr Moffat thinks that even if there is an upturn in the housing market, as consumers take advantage of relatively cheap houses in relation to earnings, any improvement will be steady rather than dramatic. Above all, he warns firms against being over-optimistic about an early economic recovery. "At the moment there is no real light at the end of the tunnel. Those firms that will survive must have a broad mix of work or restructure to adapt to lower revenues."

The author writes for *Solicitors Journal*.

Acquisition deals fall by a third

Mergers teams feel the pinch

Lawyers specialising in mergers and acquisitions used to be so busy that their wives or husbands, children and pets had forgotten what they look like.

No longer. As figures published in the latest issue of *Acquisitions Monthly* show, M & A Business in 1992 was decidedly thin for City solicitors. The result, according to Tom Phillips, a partner of the firm Herbert Smith, is that the lawyers are now "allowed to go home at a reasonable hour for a change". Such an admission signals the final end of the boom years. Three or four years ago it would have been regarded as even more wimpy than having lunch.

For those who follow league tables the figures, below right, are very interesting. Apart from showing that there was relatively little work around — the number of deals has contracted by a third — the figures are notable for the way that the seasoned poll toppers Freshfields, Norton Rose and Linklaters & Paines have stuck to form while their arch-rival Slaughter & May, which headed the table last year, has tumbled to seventh position.

For Slaughter's this will be a blow. There can hardly be any doubts about its expertise but at a time when competitiveness, not least on fees, has intensified it may be that other firms are responding more sharply to market pressures.

There may, however, be other reasons. Because so much high-calibre work is concentrated on a small number of firms there are real problems about being "conflicted out" of acting in key transactions. Certainly Freshfields would have done even better had not conflicts blocked its involvement in a number of important deals.

The other important factor this year, as *Acquisitions Monthly* points out, is that two deals — Hong Kong & Shanghai's bid for Midland Bank and Reed International's for merger with Elsevier (each of which was approaching £4 billion in value) — had a disproportionate impact on the table, with the four top scorers being involved in one or the other. That brings us to Clifford Chance, which in recent years has been consistently low down the table in view of its size. Last year, however, its performance was bet-

ter. Not only did it rocket from No 11 to No 4 in the "combined table" below but when its achievement in advising companies alone is analysed it rose from No 15 to No 3. No doubt Nigel Fox-Basset, who retires as senior partner in April, will be delighted that he can hand over such a parting gift to his successor, Keith Clark.

Among other interesting developments is the arrival of Richard Butler at No 5 on the combined table, having not featured last year. This was a very good result although, being based on just two big transactions, it may not indicate a long-term trend.

The table shows that M & A work remains, in general, the preserve of the big City firms. Full credit must go, however, to Dickinson Dees, based in Newcastle upon Tyne, for coming in ahead, for example, of Denton Hall.

Overall, though, the results will be viewed with a certain sourness by lawyers. M & A lawyers are not just going home early. They are also seeking other specialisms or simply seeking other jobs. Big business needs to hit the acquisition trail soon or 1993 could be even worse.

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THE TOP 20

Leading legal advisers acting for a financial adviser or company in UK public takeovers: January-December 1992, ranked by value of transactions

Legal adviser	Value (£m)	No of deals
1 Freshfields (2*)	4,942	14
2 Norton Rose (3)	4,539	14
3 Linklaters & Paines (4)	4,471	15
4 Clifford Chance (11)	3,894	9
5 Richards Butler (1)	1,718	2
6 Herbert Smith (7)	1,647	8
7 Slaughter and May (1)	1,361	10
8 Ashurst Murgess (6)	1,083	10
9 Goldknight (12)	818	3
10 Simmons & Simmons (5)	685	6
11 Nabarro Nathanson (15)	618	5
12 Allen & Overy (5)	550	3
13 Stephenson Harwood (1)	514	4
14 Theodorou Goldstein (16)	36	4
15 SJ Berwin (13)	30	2
16 Turner Kenneth Brown (1)	26	2
17 Macfarlane (1)	25	2
18 Dickinson Dees (1)	25	2
19 Denton Hall Burghill	54	3
20 Werners	53	4
20 William Fry (1)	53	4

*1991 full-year ranking. Based on completed and failed offers for UK public companies, and includes only those advisers involved in two or more transactions. Source: *Acquisitions Monthly* (1991 rankings in brackets)

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Judging from our experience of the recessions of the mid-seventies and early eighties, signs of growth are first seen in the vacancies for lawyers in industry. Private practice follows later, with an upturn on the non-contentious side. We are therefore pleased to see the growing number of industrial vacancies, which — interestingly — are not confined to one or two industries or to specific regions of the country. There are positions in engineering, chemicals, telecommunications, consumer goods, entertainment, construction, oil, etc.

Many legal departments, pared down during the past three years, are now overwhelmed by the work they are being required to handle. They are being forced to put more work out to private practice, and as a result, management is being made aware how much cheaper it is to use their own legal departments.

Whether these signs of an upturn prove true must be open to doubt. Predicting the future can no longer be based on simple comparisons with the past. We have entered a new phase in the evolution of the world economy, and this 'upturn' may turn out to be no more than a puff in the wind.

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Guidance on public interest immunity

Regina v Davis (Michael)
Regina v Rowe (Raphael)
Regina v Johnson (Egbert)
Before Lord Taylor of Gosforth, Lord Chief Justice, Mr Justice Owen and Mr Justice Cusack [Judgment January 15]

Guidance on the approach to be adopted in criminal cases when the prosecution wished to rely on public interest immunity or sensitivity to justify non-disclosure of evidence was given by the Court of Appeal.

The guidance was given on an *inter partes* hearing of a re-listed application by the Crown, heard *ex parte* last October, for a ruling about disclosing a document concerning the decision in *R v Ward* (The Times June 8, 1992), which held that it was for the court, not as hitherto the prosecution, to decide whether disclosure had to be made.

The Crown's application was made in the course of applications by Michael George Davis, aged 24, Raphael George Rowe, aged 22 and Randolph Egbert Johnson, aged 26, for leave to appeal against conviction of *inter alia* murder at the Central Criminal Court (Mr Justice Auld and a jury) for which they were sentenced to life imprisonment on March 30, 1990.

Mr Michael Mansfield, QC and Mr Alan Masters for Davis and Rowe; Mr David Stokes, QC and Mr Maurice Amon for Stokes, all defence counsel assigned by the Registrar of Criminal Appeals; Mr Julian Bevan, QC and Mr David Waters for the Crown.

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, giving the reserved judgment of the court, said that Mr Mansfield submitted that, where the court had to consider disclosure, it would not be right to require counsel for the defence to give an undertaking not to reveal to his instructing solicitors and client what passed in court, nor should he, as happened in the present case, voluntarily absent himself. Their Lordships agreed.

It would wholly undermine counsel's relationship with his client if he were to be privy to issues in court but could reveal neither the discussion nor even the issues to his client.

Whatever happened in court with defending counsel present would have to be disclosed to his clients. Relying on *R v Ward* Mr Mansfield submitted that, in all cases where the prosecution contended that public interest immunity or sensitivity justified non-disclosure, (a) they had to give notice to the defence that they were applying for a ruling by the court; (b) they had to indicate to the defence at least the category of material they held; and (c) the defence had to have the opportunity to make representations to the court.

In other words, Mr Mansfield contended for an *inter partes* hearing in all cases with disclosure of at least the category of the material (category being those listed in paragraph 6(v) of *Attorney-General's Guidelines: Disclosure of Information to the Defence in Cases to be tried on Indictment*).

(*Archbold, Criminal Evidence Pleading & Practice* (1993) vol 1, pp 17544-545, paragraph 4-267; (1981) 74 Cr App R 302, 303).

Mr Bevan accepted that in the majority of cases those requirements should be met. The problem arose where, exceptionally, the sensitivity of the material was such that to reveal the category, or still more exceptionally the very fact that an application was being made to the court, would defeat the public interest in non-disclosure.

In their Lordships' judgment the proper approach was:

1 In general, it was the duty of the prosecution to comply, voluntarily and without more, with the requirements in paragraph 2 of the *Attorney-General's Guidelines*: "In all cases which are due to be committed for trial, all unused material should normally (that is, subject to the discretionary exceptions mentioned in paragraph 6(v)) be made available to the defence, whether or not it has been heard on the offence(s) charged and the surrounding circumstances of the case."

2 If the prosecution wished to rely on public interest immunity or sensitivity to justify non-disclosure, then whenever possible, which would be in most cases, (a), (b) and (c) of Mr Mansfield's formulation above would apply.

3 Where, however, to disclose even the category of the material in question would in effect be to reveal that which the prosecution contended should not in the public interest be revealed, a different procedure applied.

The prosecution should still

notify the defence that an application to the court was to be made, but the category of the material did not need to be specified and the application would be *ex parte*. If the court, on hearing the application, considered that the normal procedure under 2 above ought to have been followed, it was so to order. If not, it was to rule on the *ex parte* application.

4 It might be that, in a highly exceptional case, to reveal even the fact that an *ex parte* application was to be made, could let the cat out of the bag so as to stultify the application. Such a case would be rare indeed, but their Lordships accepted Mr Bevan's contention that it could occur.

In that event, the prosecution was to apply to the court *ex parte* without notice to the defence. Again, if the court on hearing the application considered that at least notice of the application should have been given to the defence or even that the normal *inter partes* procedure should have been adopted, it was so to order.

Their Lordships recognised that open justice required maximum disclosure and whenever possible the opportunity for the defence to make representations on the basis of the fullest information.

However, in regard to public interest immunity in criminal cases, it was implicit that the defence could not have the fullest information without pre-empting the outcome of the application.

Before *Ward* the defence would have been totally unaware that, within the prosecution authority, the question of whether to disclose

sensitive material or not was being resolved.

The effect of *Ward* was to give the court the role of monitoring the views of the prosecution and to decide: Rare though highly sensitive cases would be, their Lordships saw no alternative to the rules they had set out above.

Where the court, on an application by the prosecution, ruled in favour of non-disclosure before the hearing of a case began, the ruling was not necessarily final.

The situation might change during the course of the hearing and issues might emerge so that the public interest in non-disclosure might be eclipsed by the need to disclose in the interests of securing fairness to the defendant.

If that were to occur, the court would have to indicate its change of view to the prosecution. The prosecution would then have to decide whether to disclose or offer no further evidence.

It would, therefore, be necessary for the court to continue to monitor the issue. For that reason it was desirable that the same judge or constitution of the court which decided the application should conduct the hearing. If that was impossible, the judge or constitution which did conduct the hearing was to be apprised at the outset of the material on which non-disclosure was upheld on the prosecution's earlier application.

It followed that their Lordships declined in the present case to depart from the ruling given on October 20 last.

Solicitors: Crown Prosecution Service, Headquarters.

Genuine religious belief no excuse for crime

Blake v Director of Public Prosecutions
Before Lord Justice Evans and Mr Justice Otton [Judgment December 21]

A defendant's genuine belief that he was carrying out God's instructions did not provide a defence of lawful excuse to a charge of criminal damage.

The Queen's Bench Divisional Court so held, dismissing the Reverend Jonathan Clive Blake's appeal by way of case stated against the dismissal by Knightsbridge Crown Court (Judge Quarren Evans and two justices)

on June 3, 1991 of his appeal against conviction by Knightsbridge Road Justices of causing criminal damage, contrary to section 1(1) of the Criminal Damage Act 1971.

The appellant in person: Mr Jeremy Carter-Manning for the prosecution.

MR JUSTICE OTTON said that at a protest against the use of military force by the United States, Britain and allies in Iraq and Kuwait the appellant, a vicar, had written words from the Bible on a concrete pillar.

The appellant had argued that he had a lawful excuse for his actions in that he had been

carrying out God's instructions to him. All laws originated from God and the laws of the Church were the laws of the land.

In his Lordship's judgment a belief, however powerful and genuine, that one had the consent of God against the law of England did not raise a valid excuse for breaking the law of England.

The belief had been honestly and deeply held but there were practical consequences which had to follow from such deeply held beliefs.

Lord Justice Evans agreed.

Solicitors: Crown Prosecution Service, Inner London.

Statutory defence was available

Kwasi-Poku v Director of Public Prosecutions

Justices erred in holding that the defence provided by section 5(3)(c) of the Public Order Act 1986, "that his conduct was reasonable", was not available to a defendant who had been told his property was being seized.

The Queen's Bench Divisional Court (Lord Justice Kennedy and Mr Justice Clarke) so stated on January 12 when allowing the appeal by way of case stated of Michael Kwasi-Poku against his conviction by Marylebone Justices

of, *inter alia*, using threatening behaviour contrary to section 5(1) of the 1986 Act.

LORD JUSTICE KENNEDY said that Mr Kwasi-Poku had been approached as it was suspected that he was trading without a licence contrary to section 38 of the London Local Authorities Act 1990.

He confirmed that he did not have a street traders' licence and was told that the council was empowered to seize any vehicle used for unlawful street trading.

If police officers threatened to

confiscate property in excess of their powers it was likely that the owner of the property would object. If the police officer had said that the van might be required to be used in evidence then he would have been acting within the confiscatory powers contained in section 38(4) of the 1990 Act.

If that explanation had been given to the appellant he might have appreciated that he would get the van back and would therefore have been less likely to act in the way he did.

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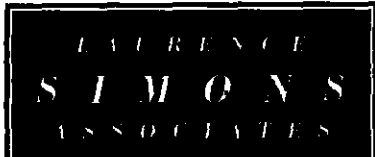
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SAINSBURY'S

Home, sweet home, in the heart of Belgium

By BRIAN COLLETT

SMALL businesses will join an unusual export initiative this year, marketing their products from an entirely British-built house in Waterloo, near Brussels.

The embassy in Brussels decided last year on a British Home for Europe to promote British products. The trade and industry department added its support and awarded the contract to Custom

Homes, the self-build subsidiary of Glendower Holdings, the property and publishing group, itself a small business.

Custom Homes, of Redhill, Surrey, chose Belgium's biggest name in quality homes to build the house, but all the materials and contents, even the soap in the bathroom, will be British.

Building began this month and should be completed by September. Then, for three months, exhibiting businesses will be able to display products and keep representatives in the house at any time. Special trade days devoted to individual exhibitors will be offered and products will be publicised through fashion shows, demonstrations and other events.

The initiative is being boosted by *The Book of British Excellence*, which describes the house and the goods it promotes. The book, printed in four languages, is being distributed through British embassies in all EC countries.

The small businesses will exhibit alongside several large companies, including Marks and Spencer, Rover and British Gypsum. Further information may be obtained from Custom Homes. Telephone: 0737 768261.

By ROGER PEARSON

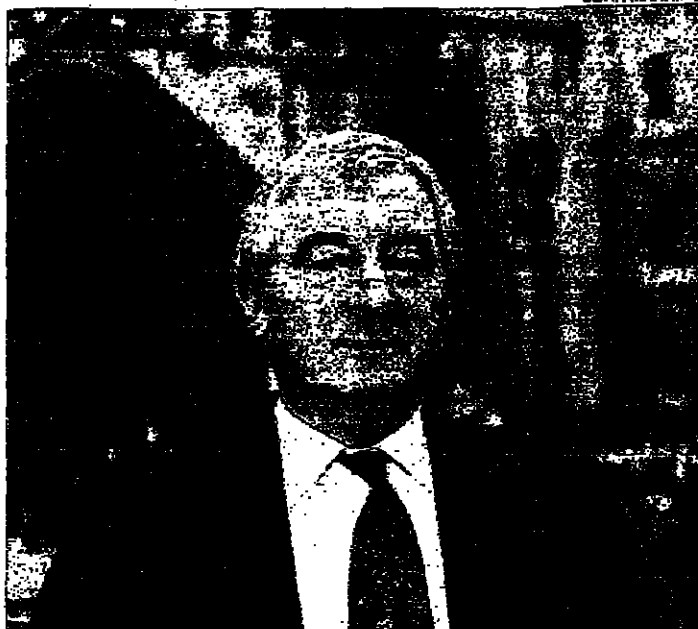
BUSINESS is booming for Clifford Austin, 62, a former quantity surveyor. It is thanks to the recession that he has built up a flourishing business collecting information on failed companies.

The more businesses driven to the wall by the current state of the economy, the bigger his business grows. In 1985, as a result of a chance investigation into a building company thought to be facing a winding-up petition, he hit on the idea of establishing a service to provide the media with information on companies that have been wound up.

In his first year, working on a part-time basis, his sideline earned him about £16,000. Last year, his company - Austint Ltd. of Worthing, West Sussex - saw a turnover of more than £200,000. This year, the target is £250,000 and the aim is to double that over the next two to three years.

Mr Austin recognised the potential for the service he provides in 1985, when he was running his own business as a quantity surveyor. He was working for a bank on some contracts started by a builder who later went out of business.

It was thought that the builder's business was being wound up but no one could confirm that. As a



He loves a wind-up: Clifford Austin gives a valuable service

result, Mr Austin headed for the Companies Court headquarters at London's Law Courts and found that the company was indeed being wound up. At the same time, he recognised that the Companies Court represented an unreported flow of information on a wide variety of businesses that were

going to the wall. He said: "I had never been involved in any form of journalism before, but it struck me that the winding up of most of these companies had to be of interest to some area of the media - national, provincial or specialist periodicals." In those days, he charged £12.50 for a 150-word story and in his first

year it was a flood of small fees from papers and magazines all over the country that brought him that first £16,000. By 1987, he had broadened his net. He was also dealing with High Court bankruptcy matters, had extended his service to provide material for the national press, television and radio and had increased his charges. His turnover had risen to £50,000.

Still working from home he was employing three part-timers, one to contact newspapers and the others to type his reports, market them and send out accounts.

Today, his customer base has spread beyond the media and he employs four full-time and six part-time staff. He is able to provide the speediest available, detailed information on about 25,000 winding-up petitions currently being issued annually and organisations such as banks, electricity and factoring companies are among his clients.

He now provides blanket cover of England and Wales and is expanding into Scotland and Northern Ireland. He is offering coverage of all these areas to markets throughout the EC. The number of companies winding up does appear to be on the wane. In October and November he said there were 13 per cent fewer company failures in the London-based courts than in the same two months of 1991.

BUSINESS

BEWARE of cheques from strangers seems to be the lesson of a Court of Appeal ruling for anyone whose staff collect payment after a job is done or goods delivered. If the cheque is not written by the person who gave instructions for the work or ordered the goods, it can be cancelled and the person who wrote it cannot be forced to honour it. The Court of Appeal case centred on a gas appliance company whose fitter accepted a cheque from a customer's daughter. The woman stopped the cheque because her father was dissatisfied with the work and the company then sued her for £80.50, claiming she owed them as a result of the "dishonoured" cheque. However, the Court of Appeal has ruled that the woman cannot be sued because, although she gave the workman the cheque at the end of the job, she had no contract with his employer.

□ A budget-priced public relations package aimed at small businesses has been launched by BOSS public relations, a new East Anglia based consultancy in East Anglia, set up by Paula O'Brien, who has been 14 years in the business. The cost is £250 plus VAT. BOSS is at Stable Barn, Eades Mill, Great Wingham, Norfolk NR9 5PQ. Telephone: 0603 872168.

EDITOR DEREK HARRIS

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INTERCAL

Page 32

THEATRE page 34

The Black Light Theatre of Prague's White Rabbit in Alice in Wonderland is more like a mouse

ARTS

ROCK page 35

Sian Russell of Beijing Spring: a six-figure sum has been invested in the British pop duo



Jamming with Mr President

On the eve of Bill Clinton's inauguration, Victoria McKee asks what presidential taste says about current American culture

The country that produced Barnum's "greatest show on earth" can be relied upon to ensure that its presidential inaugural festivities are conducted on a similarly grand scale. It has not always been thus. George Washington had a simple public ceremony: the only entertainment was the ringing of church bells and a 13-gun salute. But over the decades the event has swollen. George Bush's inauguration lasted five days and lavished (or wasted, depending on your viewpoint) \$25 million on fun and frolics. These included seven inaugural balls, fireworks, naval and military displays including flypasts by 21 warplanes, the Beach Boys performing live at the Lincoln Memorial, a mariachi band at the Kennedy Center, Tchaikovsky by the cellist Yo Yo Ma, a "celebration of youth" at which President Bush "jammed" on an electric guitar, and the music of Bo Diddley, Joe Cocker, Percy Sledge and the Houston and Washington National Symphony Orchestras.

When you've a president interested in music, music blossoms

President Clinton's bash will, of course, have to be even bigger. He has lined up 11 official balls, two galas (one of which is open to the public, the price of admission being clothes or canned food for the homeless), and a two-day "musical celebration". Participants range from "fashion and gay" marching bands to Kathleen Battle, Fleetwood Mac, Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin and, yes, that Paris-born, American-trained Chinese cellist Yo Yo Ma. Again, Judy Collins, who recorded the best-known version of the Joni Mitchell song "Chelsea Morning" (which inspired the Clinton's daughter's name), will sing "Amazing Grace" with the Philander Smith College Choir of Little Rock, and Barbara Streisand will offer her inimitable version of "God Bless America". Interestingly, the inauguration is

seen as a chance for politically correct culture vultures to swoop in for a killing. Those who perform at the inaugural festivities stand a good chance of being invited back to perform at the White House, or for one of the televised musical spectacles that recent presidents have taken to hosting. These are the people, in other words, who will help set the cultural tone of the new administration. So what do the cultural choices made by the inaugural committee, in this case headed by Hollywood producers Harry and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, reveal about the future flowering of the arts under Clinton?

"Quite a lot," says Philip Brooks, who rejoices in the title of official historian for the inaugural committee. "It is possible to look at who is chosen to perform at an inaugural and predict, to some degree, the future of the arts under the new administration. The music chosen very much reflects the taste of the president as well as the variety of the nation."

"Music is a very strong part of the Clintons' life, and as their choice of performers at the inaugural shows. When you have a president who is interested in music, music blossoms — as it did under Kennedy and under the Carters and the Mondales."

Cultural life also flowered, Brooks feels, under Roosevelt and Truman — whereas "I never had the impression the Reagans or the Bushes were that musically oriented". The Clintons mainly liked "straight dance music" and jazz: the Eisenhower preferred "dance music, military bands and choral music — particularly the Mormon Tabernacle Choir".

Brooks points out that "Frank Sinatra produced the Reagan galas of 1981 and 1985 and featured his kind of music — the same sort of things he and his 'Rat Pack' had performed for the Kennedy admin-



In session: George Bush playing guitar with his campaign manager, Lee Atwater, at a "celebration of youth", one of the cultural events marking his inauguration

istration. But whereas it was excitingly contemporary in the early 1960s, it was not in the Eighties." Dr Elise Kirk, however, a musicologist who spent 11 years researching her optimistically-titled book on *Musical Highlights from the White House*, is disappointed by the Clintons' choice of entertainment. She believes an inauguration "should not only reflect the personal taste of the president, but show the current cultural trends in America."

What Clinton's programme shows, she says, is "Baby Boomer nostalgia, which is what we're going through today on so many levels".

The Kennedys, she notes, "commissioned a prize-winning American composer — John La Montaine — to write an orchestral work for an inaugural concert — *From Sea to Shining Sea*. That's what I'd like to see more presidents do: creating new American classics." Musically inclined cynics, however, will be asking "John La Who?" In fact, there is a specially commissioned inaugural song this year, "Re-

union" by Bill Clinton's childhood friend Randy Goodrum. But this is not quite what Kirk has in mind. Some administrations seemed to avoid encouraging the arts too much in troubled times. Woodrow Wilson considered inaugural balls a frivolity and vetoed them in 1913 and 1917, while "Harry Truman was a great music lover but the world situation was so bad at the time that he held only one series of concerts at the White House".

At Nixon's 1973 inaugural event the music reflected a nation divided by more than just a generation gap. *The New York Times* reported that "the differing moods of this inaugural eve could be heard in the sound of music tonight, with an official concert featuring the triumphant canon of Tchaikovsky's 1812 overture at the John F. Kennedy Center, and the drum-

rolls of Haydn's *Mass in Time of War* at the Washington Cathedral." This "gentle, contemplative mass," as *The New York Times* called it, conducted by a shirt-sleeved Leonard Bernstein, was free to the public, and attended by war protesters such as Senators Ted Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

The Clintons not only held serious inaugural concerts, they invited great classical artists such as Kyung-Wha Chung, Isaac Stern, Richard Tucker and Van Cliburn to entertain dignitaries at the White House. The Reagans inclined more towards showbiz: Benny Goodman, Johnny Mathis, Perry Como, Sinatra.

The Johnsons chose the North Texas State University Lab Jazz Band for the visit of the King of Thailand, and songs from *Oklahoma!* with the Air Force Band for the president of the Malagasy Republic, while Gerald Ford selected Bob Hope to entertain the Queen, Ann-Margret for the Shah of Iran and Tennessee Ernie Ford for President Scheel of Germany.

As far as the Clinton inauguration goes, there have been grumblings about who was and was not invited from the world of

classical music. Lee Lamont, head of ICM's classical division (which manages Yo Yo Ma) says: "While I had high hopes that Roberta Peters, who has sung at the last three inaugurations and is on the music panel of the National Endowment for the Arts, might find her way back, maybe what they've chosen is the way to attract people in their thirties and forties."

But Morton Gould, the veteran composer who is president of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, loyally says: "I feel very up about the Clinton inaugural and am not bothered by the ratio of classical to popular music. I think they are using vital sounds, not only of America but sounds that have travelled all over the world and have influenced and affected people."

Nedda Casei, an opera singer who is president of the American Guild of Musical Artists (which represents some 6,000 classical performing artists), is even more enthusiastic: "though her member-

ship has been largely ignored. "The past two administrations have shown very little interest, and at times actual hostility towards the arts," she says.

That is putting it mildly. John Prohmeyer, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, resigned last year over questions of restricting freedom of expression, and the NEA budget has been slashed. Casei hopes for better things now. "Clinton enjoys performing himself, and with his enthusiasm we hope to put music and art back into the schools and to strengthen the NEA."

But what does it portend for the future of the arts in America that most of the entertainment at this inauguration harks back to Clinton's student days in the 1960s: a pure nostalgia trip? "Do we really want to answer that question?" wonders Brooks. "It may be backward-looking in a way, but maybe that's what the nation wants — to go back to the feeling of society in the Sixties and the excitement they remember from their youth."

JANACEK FESTIVAL: Chamber and orchestral highlights; and the weekend's operatic centrepiece

The waves, according to Janáček, ruled Britannia. The sea was to blame for the English musical mind: all that ebb and flow, erosion and siltation up, measurement, proportion, correctness. After his visit to the Wigmore Hall, just after the General Strike had broken out in May 1926, it was not the lack of programmes, newspapers and public which bothered him. It was the fact that, in the performances of his music, "the joke became serious, the terror didn't frighten... there was a barrier. The sea." That barrier crashed down at the weekend.

The Barbican/BBC Janáček Festival devoted Sunday afternoon to a recreation of that Wigmore Hall concert. For the late, passionate Violin Sonata, it is true, performers of impeccable central European credentials were chosen. Radoslav Kvapil, one-time student of a close Janáček disciple at the Brno Academy, accompanied Ernst Kovacic in a performance of strange and strong beauty.

Kvapil provided support, too, for Christopher van Kampen in Janáček's short cello ballad, *Pohádka*, and for the late, rich Concertino which featured members of the Lindsey Quartet and the London Winds. Earlier in the afternoon, they had given convincing performances of, respectively, the First String Quartet and *Mládí*. The quartet, inspired by a reading of

Over the sea to success

Tolstoy's novella, *The Kreutzer Sonata*, is an incarnation of music's unique power to move, which Tolstoy found so disturbing. The Lindseys, by focusing on the constant collision between abrasive, astringent rhythmic patterns and ripe harmonic textures, recreated that disturbance most powerfully. And the sense of wit and delight which laughed its way out of *Mládí*, Janáček's memoir of youth, thrown off during a trip to the country on his 70th birthday, was celebrated with both skill and glee by the London Winds.

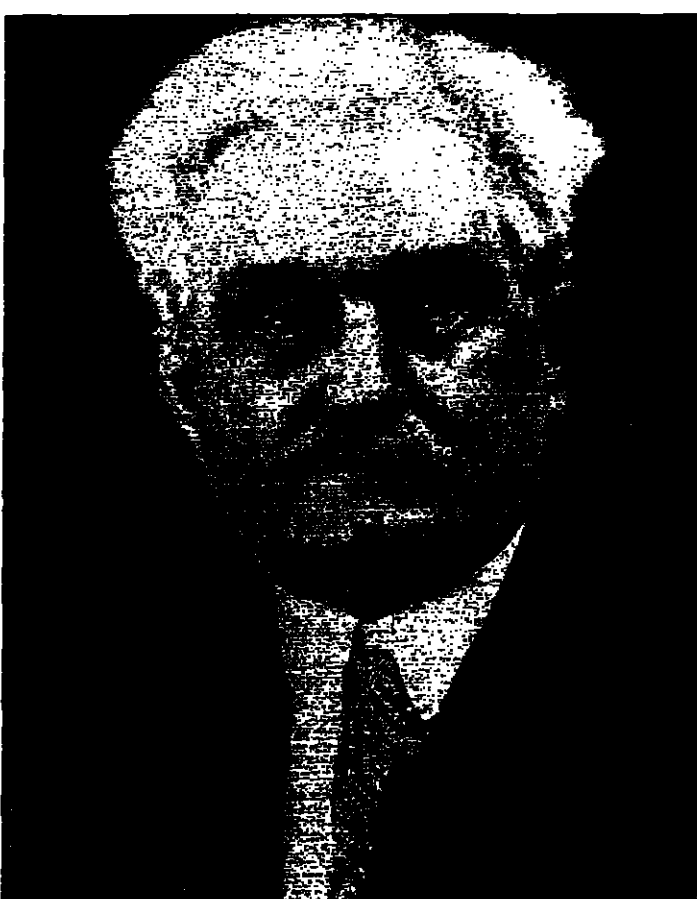
The Concertino, which Janáček had withdrawn from the original Wigmore concert for fear of an inadequate performance, was just the sort of work which a festival such as this should rediscover. Here was Janáček's notebook of sounds of the created world: he would painstakingly transcribe the voices of robins, bees, crickets, hens — even silence. Here, Michael Collins enjoyed his antics as clarinet-

squirrel in a work which breathed the live forest air of the contemporary *Cunning Little Vren*.

The festival also made room on Sunday evening for Kovacic's thrillingly committed performance of the Violin Concerto, "The Pilgrimage of a Soul", first performed only in 1988, and ringing with references to *The House of the Dead*. Whereas the concerto, here realised by Leo Falus and Milos Sedroň, had been left in draft for further use, the completion of Janáček's *Danube* symphony had been forestalled by the composer's sudden death. The Falus and Sedroň version, a vivid deciphering of the picture Janáček left, was given a revelatory London premiere on Friday by the BBC Symphony Orchestra and Andrew Davis.

Alive with the rhythms and melodies by which, in Janáček's words, "we measure ourselves and the universe" it was answered, at the festival's triumphant end, by the instrument closest to Janáček's heart, the human voice. The BBC Singers revealed the composer's unique closeness to its breathing, pulse and inflection in a programme which included the folk narrative *Kaspar Ruck*, and the compelling Tago setting, *The Wandering Madman*, before a final celebratory blast-off in the *Sinfonietta*.

HILARY FINCH



Janáček feared for his works at the hands of British performers

Glimmer of light in the darkness

often. The term "concert performance" is slightly misleading; a lighting designer, David Ings, was credited. The prelude from the BBC Symphony Orchestra's stands the indoor scenes were suffused in cool blue, with warm amber added for the prisoners' riverside holiday. Black curtains surrounding the stage gave a sense of claustrophobia in ironic contrast to the wide open spaces painted by the music, and if the setting performance remained

lower-depths study of the insulted and the injured could be played out closer to home than Siberia. Two language coaches were also credited, and while the Czech or Slovak singers — Stefan Margita (Shapkin) and Jan Galla (Goryan-chikov) — had the edge in clarity of projection of the text, there could be no doubting the commitment of their western colleagues, certainly not the three prisoners whose narrations lie at the centre of each

(an unforgettable Covent Garden Laica) fielded steely heroic tone as the brutal Luka, and Kim Begley's more lyrical tenor wrung every ounce of pathos from Skuratov's account of his doomed Luise. The longest, most complex narration is Shishkov's, with its own large cast of characters, and Russell Smythe used vocal colour to people the stage with the ingenuity of a Ruth Draper — a virtuoso performance from a baritone at the top of his form. Neil Jenkins and Nicho-

ers respectively) gave vivid support. The exceptionally beautiful playing of the BBCSO under Andrew Davis at times sounded at odds with Janáček's famously spare instrumentation and the harsh sound-world the piece inhabits — a touch too much of Elgar, perhaps, in a reading half way between Mackerras's astringency and the dispiriting mush heard from the Vienna Philharmonic under Abbado at Salzburg last year. But there is more than one path to salvation, and Davis's persuasively paced, deeply felt interpretation strides in the right direction.

New role created at Sadler's Wells

ARTS BRIEFING

SWEEEPING changes have been announced in the management of Sadler's Wells Theatre, after a review undertaken as a condition of the £280,000 rescue package put together by the London Arts Board last year. Stephen Remington, who has been director for the past 13 years, will no longer be responsible for programming the theatre. Instead, Sadler's Wells will advertise for a new "artistic producer", who will develop a national and international creative programme.

The artistic producer, who will report directly to Remington in his new capacity as chief executive, will "draw together for the first time all the resources of Sadler's Wells — the main house, the Lillian Baylis Theatre and the education and community work". The post will also include responsibility for developing international collaborations.

PERSONAL injury was responsible for Antony Sher's arachnoid Richard III. A busy achilles tendon forced him onto crutches, and he then proceeded to put them to dexterous creative use onstage. Now the reverse has happened to Simon Russell Beale: Richard III has injured him. The menacing crouch he adopts for the part is reportedly responsible for the trapped sciatic nerve that forced him into his bed last week, and caused the cancellation of performances of Sam Mendes's production at the Donmar Warehouse last Friday, Saturday and Monday. Tonight's is also off. He is expected to resume tomorrow.

Years away THE Arts Council has designated 1997, 1998 and 1999 as years of "opera and musical theatre", "photography and the electronic image" and "architecture and design", and is inviting towns, cities and regions to bid to lead the way in those years. The announcement extends the "Arts 2000" scheme, which last

UK City of Music, and this year sees the East Midlands as UK Region of Dance. Future locations already designated are Manchester (1994, drama), Swansea (1995, literature) and the northern region (1996, visual arts).

Bidders have until April 2 to inform the Arts Council of their intention to compete. Winners are given £250,000 by the Arts Council towards their year's events and expected at least to match this with local funding.

BRITAIN's first undergraduate degree course in acting — as distinct from drama or theatre studies — has been established by the Guildhall School of Music and Drama. An existing three-year diploma course in acting has been validated by the City University in London as a B.A. honours degree. For the 50 students already enrolled on the first and second year of the course, one big practical difference will be that they are now eligible for mandatory grants and student loans. Ian Horsburgh, the principal of the Barbican-based Guildhall, said that the change "acknowledges the quality of drama teaching at the school".

Last chance... EMPTY Space Theatre Company rather grandly claims to "use an evocative visual style to create theatrical magic"; and, in the case of *The Curse of the Pharaohs*, does not greatly overstate. A cast of four bring enchantment as well as excitement to Robin Brooks's account of the Tur dig of 1922. After closing at the Lyric Studio, Hammersmith (081-741 2311) on Saturday, the production moves to the

ROCK: Caroline Sullivan on a new band getting a big-money push. Plus: a band getting the old heave-ho, in concert

Some bubble under, others go pop

Joe Cokell, general manager of marketing at MCA Records UK, believes that "Britain is crying out for a band like Beijing Spring." A fortune is riding on that assumption. His label, a wing of the giant Music Corporation of America, signed the hitherto-unknown pop group to a contract that could, according to managing director Tony Powell, cost MCA up to £4 million over five years. That figure includes £400,000 forwarded to the Sussex-based duo when the deal was closed in June 1991. It does not include the £200,000 reportedly being lavished on the promotion of their single, "I Wanna Be In Love Again", released last week.

The Beijing deal is the talk of Britain's major labels. There is disbelief that MCA, home of superstars Cher and Guns N' Roses, would risk such a sum on an unproven act. The sum of £400,000 possibly would not cover Axl Rose's champagne bill, but it is a huge advance for a new group. Since the Sigeu Spunnil debacle, when that much-hyped Eighties combo failed to justify its seven-figure deal with equivalent record sales, labels have been cautious about throwing money at fledgling acts.

To offer perspective, Tazmin Archer, who made No 1 last October with her debut single, "Sleeping Satellite", was signed to EMI Records for £25,000 including £10,000 up front. Even more remarkably, when MCA took them on, Beijing Spring had never played live. "No gigs" means no fans, which usually means no deal. But MCA were not daunted. They signed Beijing on the basis of a demo tape and meetings with the group's songwriter, Tony Williams, and singers Sian Russell and Katrina Stevens.

The group was launched when "millionaire businessman" Williams decided to indulge his song-writing hobby by making demo tapes of some of his tunes. He hired Russell and Stevens to sing on the demos, the intention being to try to sell the songs to major artists. Russell and Stevens, who had not previously worked together, liked the songs enough to persuade Williams to let them "keep" them. Beijing Spring was thus born. The origin of the band has sparked cynicism. It is an inflexible rock rule that bands must begin organically, preferably in a garage or a bedroom.

The group played its first gigs just two months ago, as "special guests" on the Curtis Stigers and Richard Marx tours. There they performed to around 50,000 people, some of whom may be relied upon to buy "I Wanna Be In Love Again". But that in itself was not enough to take it into the charts, so for the last three weeks MCA has

run a concerted marketing campaign. It is comprised of "tease-and-reveal" radio ads featuring Alexei Sayle, regional newspaper ads and blanket fly-posting. The fluorescent pink and blue posters resemble detergent ads — the better, explains Cokell, to catch people's eyes as they drive home from work at night. In this way, the company hopes to "build a profile and brand the product".

Simultaneously, the MCA press department is beginning the task of selling the group to the media. Head of press Ted Cummings will approach teen magazines, the tabloids and mass-circulation women's weeklies, whose readers are the natural constituency for Beijing's glossy soft rock.

"It's not easy with a band like this. The music press probably won't be interested and the national press won't touch them till they've gone Top 40. We're not expecting the press to break this band," Cummings says, with a glance at a press release that pluckily asserts: "Beijing Spring have planted themselves firmly at the forefront of a new British pop movement."

Everybody at MCA is putting their faith in the existence of this purported new movement. The pop charts have long been ceded to dance music. Such "pop" singles as now reach the charts tend to originate from abroad, usually America. It is MCA's hope that the Beijings will offer home-grown competition to the highly lucrative likes of Roxette and Wilson Phillips.

"The record industry often forgets that there are people from 18 to 40, housewives, whatever, who live in Hardlepool or Leeds and go to Cinderella's, not the Powerhaus, and want to hear good pop," states Powell.

"There are a lot of people who buy just one or two records a year. If they're touched by something they'll buy it, regardless of the price of the CD. That's who we're aiming at. I think there's something interesting about two young girls singing high-quality pop. It doesn't fit in with the current thing and it's a gamble with the scales weighted heavily against you. But it's not just about what we're doing in the UK; there's great worldwide potential."

Powell's reasoning vouchsafes a sound grasp of the nuts and bolts of his profession: demographic studies, market research and "product branding". On a deeper level, it reveals the profound conservatism of an industry whose structure is being undermined from several directions at once.

Music is being supplanted by video games as the chief teenage leisure activity. Kids who still buy records are showing a predilection



Katrina Stevens (left) and Sian Russell of Beijing Spring: they received a £400,000 advance

for independently-released dance and grunge items. The launches of the new MiniDisc and digital compact cassette formats have been indifferently received by a recession- and technology-numbed public.

To a record company director observing all of this turmoil, Beijing Spring must seem the nearest thing there is to a safe bet: two pretty women with good voices, who perform songs of a genre favoured by up-faddy, record-purchasing thirtysomethings.

However, Powell has to leave room in the equation for crucial uncertainties. For instance, will the group's lack of profile be a hindrance? Will MCA's heavy-hitting promotional strategy attract

or repel potential fans? Audiences have an aversion to the idea that a group is being forced on them.

Clive Black, the EMI A & R manager who signed Tazmin Archer, comments with some satisfaction: "You'll probably buy an act for life if you push too hard. And no-one buys a record from seeing a poster. You must see or hear them. It all has to work together."

Everyone in the business recalls the sad case of the Roaring Boys. Signed by CBS in 1984 for a Beijingish figure, they received a hefty marketing leg-up, but their first single peaked at No 132. The label quietly dropped them.

Most of the major companies have recently implemented savage roster cuts. These have made some

eminent names label-less for the first time in their careers. John Lydon and Julian Cope are among those looking for deals. They had sold respectably and imparted prestige to their former companies, but big labels say they can no longer afford to subsidise artists who do not meet performance targets.

For this reason, the pleasantly anodyne Beijing Spring must seem worth £400,000 to MCA. "The size of the advance brings a lot of pressure on you. But I think music badly needs melodies and kids need someone to relate to musically," remarks Katrina, the blonde singer.

At the time of writing the Beijing Spring single had entered the Gallup chart at No 44.

While some rise, others fade: David Sinclair reports how a former 'flavour-of-the-month' group is now label-less, despite hit singles

What is wrong with Pop Will Eat Itself? They were, after Big Audio Dynamite, one of the first English rock groups to embrace the sounds and sampling techniques of hip-hop culture in the Eighties, but it is those acts which have followed in their footsteps, such as EMF and Jesus Jones, which have reaped the really significant, international rewards. Now, after eight consecutive hit singles, the latest of which, "Get The Girl - Kill The Baddies", entered the Top 10 last week, Pop Will Eat Itself have been dropped by their record company.

If pure energy, an incandescent lightshow, and a collection of puerile song titles was the key to producing a good show, there would be no problem. But the hard fact is that despite a tremendous cult following, most of whom seemed to have crammed in for the first of two nights at the Town and Country, the band shows no signs of going anywhere.

Vocalist Clint Mansell, stripped to the waist, his dreadlocked hair pinned up in a bunch on top of his head and wearing a sweat-soaked sarong, looked like a man who had had his shower interrupted by a knock on the door. Wheeling and pogoing about the stage like a kangaroo in heat, he narrowly avoided a series of collisions with the rest of the group, who were all engaged in a range of similarly hyperactive endeavour. His second-in-command, Graham Crabb, cut a more conventional figure in shirt,

mousers and braces as he berated the audience for not imitating with sufficient gusto some ridiculous noise that he kept making over the microphone.

The sound was hard, screeching and very much in the modern dance/techno idiom, even with the inclusion of a real drummer. As they worked their way through a long list of short, utterly tasteless numbers, including "88 Seconds... & Still Counting", "Token Drug Song" and "Karmadrome", they deployed power guitar chords, synthesizer bleeps, "industrial" noises and a barrage of percussion effects to register a high reading on the "what's that bloody racket?" meter. But rather than being a stimulating experience, the absence of melody, or even a discernible lyric (beyond mantra-like catchphrases), induced torpor.

However, their biggest deficiency was in the charm department. They started as a humorously laddish antidote to the dour, jangly-guitar groups which dominated the indie scene of the mid-Eighties. But their devil-may-care attitude now smacks of complacency and they seem content to carry on preaching to the converted.

Their name, once a clever in-joke, now seems to exclude anybody not already in the know, and their attitude to performing has become similarly insular and self-congratulatory. As is often the case with pioneers, they are working at the core of their art with little regard for the broader horizons beyond.

DANCE REVIEW

Focus on the women

THE Bolshoi's *Giselle*, the only complete work it has brought, may lack atmosphere at the Albert Hall, but it made up for this with an exquisite performance by Inna Petrova. A 25-year-old who looks like a child, Petrova has a lovely face, expressiveness and a delicate style of movement. She gave us an enchanting *Giselle*, still with the old heart trouble (physical and emotional), but also vital and fresh.

Her *Giselle* revels in dancing with a heady joy that made her subsequent doom all the more poignant, like a fragile flower trampled before reaching full bloom. She deserved more exciting suitors than Yuri Vetrov's stolid Hans (Hilarion) to us and Yuri Vasilenko's Albrecht, whose wooden gestures and stiff dancing smothered the potential glamour of his chemical-blond hair.

This was a performance that assembled some of the Bolshoi's best women: Maria Bylova, versatile and stylish, danced the peasant pas de deux; beautiful, stately Nina Speranskaya as Myrina extended long, drifting arms and floated her legs into tapering arabesques. The choreography has not escaped the revisionist hand of Yuri Grigorovich, whose contribution includes an absurd pageant of guards and courtiers to announce the arrival of the duke's hunting party.

Past isolationism seems to have made Russian ballet prone to

cultural mistakes. In *Giselle*, it looked odd to see the Rhine inhabitants flourish tambourines; in *The Nutcracker*, Grigorovich has substituted a wildly inappropriate Hindu pas de deux for the Arabian dance of Tchaikovsky's score. The company's Tchaikovsky centenary programme presents its subsequent doom all the more poignant, like a fragile flower trampled before reaching full bloom. She deserved more exciting suitors than Yuri Vetrov's stolid Hans (Hilarion) to us and Yuri Vasilenko's Albrecht, whose wooden gestures and stiff dancing smothered the potential glamour of his chemical-blond hair.

In *Swan Lake*, Nina Semizorova, the company's most classical, most refined ballerina, and her husband, Mark Peretkin, performed with sensitivity. But the evening's other two couples — Galina Stepanenko and Sergei Filin (*Sleeping Beauty*), Nadezhda Gracheva and Yuri Klestov (*Nutcracker*) — offered little artistic lustre.

Both women reveal themselves to be empty technicians, adept at unravelling pirouettes or freezing into perfect balances. The men share the strength and clean landings of most Bolshoi men, but as principals seem unexceptional. The drain of talent to the West has left a deep scar.

NADINE MEISNER

TELEVISION REVIEW: Peter Barnard

Something of a con

The war against crime has become marked, at least on television, by sartorial confusion. A gang of men shouting the odds and wearing faded jeans, boater boots, flak jackets and Balacava helmets usually turn out to be seeking help with their enquiries, often from a soft-spoken man in a suit with a nice haircut who will shortly be convicted of serial rape.

Of course fraud is not like serial anything. Fraud has always had about it a touch of middle-class respectability, the sort of thing an accountant might turn his hand to when accounting had fallen into a trough. Therefore one expects to find a better class of police officer in the fraud squad, dealing with a better class of criminal. Thus was Fraud Squad, last night's programme in the *Cutting Edge* series (Channel 4), a better class of police documentary. In other words, slightly dull.

Only one door was kicked in, the rest were knocked upon or had their bells rung. Behind one was a sleepy-eyed teenager, who could not quite remember what his father's first name was, let alone where he might be. The detective sergeant told the camera crew that it would be wrong to press the 15-year-old any further. Gracious me, what a weak-kneed bunch.

The father of the boy was wanted in connection with what is known generically as "the Nigeria fraud". What happens is that a British businessman, having been told by Mr Lamont to export or die, rushes off to export... and dies. He is contacted by a Nigerian who can

win him a multi-million pound contract. The businessman pays for the Nigerian's trip to Britain and hands over £15,000 as a fee to get things started.

Subsequently the businessman is invited to Lagos, where he visits the Defence Ministry building. There is an outer office populated by impressive men in uniforms and an inner sanctum with an even more impressive man with government printing contracts at his disposal. Except that this is a scam: somebody has been bribed to provide the office for a couple of hours.

It is a very old stunt, amusingly described many years ago by Len Deighton in *Only When I Laugh*. But the old ones are the best ones, as we saw via the charity scam: you give yourself a name that sounds like a real charity and you give some of the money raised to the charity, but only some. This can get you arrested. It can also, as one trickster observed, "give the neighbours something to talk about."

To be arrested by two policemen and a television crew is still a rare distinction, but becoming less so. It provided a marvellous piece of television last year, when Pandora Maxwell shouted "piss off or we'll call the police" out of a window, only to discover that it was the police she was shouting at. Last night had nothing in that class. Indeed *Cutting Edge* was for once a blunt instrument, seemingly too satisfied with being the fly on the wall to want to know what it was really seeing. I would bet the Metropolitan Police fraud squad have a few tales to tell, but you wouldn't have known it from this.

Clearly a matter of art as much as craft

John Russell Taylor reviews a show of the work of British glassmakers



Galia Elise Amstel's piece, Unfolding Secret, 24 per cent lead crystal, included in The Glass Show

Incredibly enough, a cloud of ambiguity still hangs around the status of glass. Not forgotten are the years when one had only to try bringing into the country a piece of art glass from the United States, say, or Finland, to trigger off endless arguments around the customs hall as to whether it could be counted a work of art, or had to be taxed rather as a piece of domestic ware, however impractical it may seem for any quotidian purpose. The Glass Show at the Crafts Council Gallery should clear up at least some of this confusion.

At the same time, it celebrates the quarter-century since Sam Herman, the American glassmaker, came to London to teach at the Royal College of Art. Some elementary arithmetic will place this arrival at the height of the Swinging Sixties. That is by no means inappropriate. Herman's own glass from that period and subsequently is swirly, free-form and richly coloured; it belongs to the mental world of "handmade houses" and a worldwide passion for tie-dye and macramé.

But the importance of Herman in the development of contemporary British art glass is more than merely an influence on style. Rather than a specific aesthetic approach, he brought with him a technical revolution. This was hot-glass technology, which enabled British glassmakers, hitherto dominated by the manufacturing tradition which went back to Victorian crystal, to make their own pieces as well as designing them. Herman introduced the small kiln which enabled individual makers to melt glass at a low temperature and then work it themselves while it was soft and malleable.

Looking at the retrospective section of the show, it is impossible not to be amazed at the speed with which the artist-craftsmen took off in dozens of different directions. By 1976, when the international conference "Working with Hot Glass" took place at the Royal College, much of this had already happened. The surprise, in fact, is that Herman's own style had relatively little influence. His followers very

rapidly moved into sculpture, or radically reinterpreted the traditional, semi-functional forms of the latter category is Tessa Clegg. She works in pâte de verre, a sort of glass moulded from ground-down coloured glass mixed and remelted, so that it has a distinctive cloudy quality and subtlety of colour. Clegg's earlier works, represented

in the first part of this show, were mostly bowls or plates fluted into concertina-like folds. In her latest work she has moved on to casted crystal dishes and bowls on a monumental scale, which seem to reflect Romanesque forms.

The early medieval period is also an influence on a wide variety of other new glass. Evidently so in Beverly Beeland's *The Long River*, a box in etched metal and kiln-cast glass which takes its cue from Romanesque reliquaries; more indirectly in Gayle Matthias's iconic standing figure reliefs in pâte de verre or in Liz Lowe's irregularly shaped vases, which evoke Byzantine mosaics in their use of small gold and silver tesserae just beneath the iridescent surface. Pâte de verre in which the gravely ground glass

is fused rather than fully melted, to give a curious pebble-dash texture, the form used by Matthias, recurs in the more defiantly modern-looking work of Karen Vincent, which she describes as "semi-functional vessels".

In fact, there are very few pieces here which suggest themselves for practical purposes: even the more traditional container shapes are really designed fantasies on a given formal theme. And much, perhaps most, of the work on view unmistakably crosses over from craft into art, in that, at the very least, it has no conceivable function other than to look good.

A sense of disturbance and discomfort is discernible in Morag Gordon's *Bound Head*, in which a detached head lying on its side, as in the famous Brancusi sculpture, is cruelly compressed between two thick slabs of ice-cold glass. Ray Flavell's *Cooler* is a much lighter, abstract piece that somehow suggests simultaneously a cock's comb and a thundery shower. Keith Brocklehurst's *Seven Hours - Pursuit of the Blue Man* inevitably has overtones of the American West in its use of arrow shapes, and no conceivable use.

Still, some of the most satisfying pieces come somewhere in the middle ground between experiment and tradition. Steven Newell, one of the stars of new British glass, is represented by *Little Fox*, one of his magical scenes in a large sand-blasted bowl. Beatriz Castro, originally from Argentina, looks back to the chunky French art glass of the inter-war years, with bowls of cloudy white glass contained by a framework of delicately coloured pâte de verre in formalised organic shapes. The show as a whole seems to represent a movement, but really it is more like an explosion of the glass arts: the individual particles may not have any particular shared sense of direction, but they know they are going very far, very fast.

Crafts Council Gallery, 44a Pentonville Road, London N1 071-278 7700. Tues-Sat 11am-6pm, Sun 2-6pm, until March 7.

Athletes on track for world championship boycott

After entering the new year with an £18 million damages liability against its name from its dispute with Butch Reynolds, the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) is bracing itself for another big argument. But this time there will be more than one athlete on the opposing side. Many more.

Primo Nebiolo, the IAAF president, is refusing to concede to demands for the payment of prize-money at the world championships in Stuttgart in August and, at a three-day IAAF council meeting in Jakarta, beginning on Friday, he intends to put forward a financial plan which may please the majority of the IAAF's 202 national federations but which would edge him closer to an athletes' boycott.

There is growing restlessness in the United States. Joe Douglas, the manager of Santa Monica Track Club, which includes Carl Lewis, said: "Most of the athletes and managers I have spoken with have said: 'Let's boycott. I hope the IAAF is aware how serious this is.'"

A boycott would be a last resort, Douglas added, but David Greifinger, of the International Association of Athletics Representatives (IAAR) executive board, said: "If Nebiolo continues his current course, he is going to have trouble getting out the top athletes. We are going to win this one and we may take a boycott. The IAAR claims to act for 90 per

cent of competitors in the world's top 50 in each event.

Brad Hunt, whose clients include the world champions, Mike Powell and Michael Johnson, said: "The athletes are ready to take a stand and the obvious stand is not to go. But first we have to see what happens in Jakarta." Feelings may prove no different in Europe. Hans Dusseldorp, assistant to Jos Hermens, who manages the Olympic champions, Khalid Skah, Dieter Baumann and Ellen van Langen, said: "If Nebiolo stands firm, I think a boycott is inevitable."

In the face of court battles, Nebiolo showed the same level of self-assurance that the IAAF was correct to ban Reynolds for a drugs offence as he is displaying now over prize-money. His Jakarta proposal is to offer federations \$1,000 per athlete participating in the world championships. He has earmarked a smaller pool of money to cover world cross-country and indoor championships and the World Cup.

Simultaneously, USA Track and Field (USATF), formerly The Athletics Congress, favours distributing between the federations \$50 million of its new wealth achieved on the back of the world championships. It would include money for the athletes.

By Nebiolo's thinking, the federations would be at liberty to distribute the money as they wish. That might include cash bonuses for medal-winning

David Powell, athletics correspondent, on a collision course that Primo Nebiolo and the sport's leading performers are taking over demands for prize-money

athletes, incentives provided already in some countries, though not in Britain. Also, the IAAF would continue to pay travel and accommodation, quotas to administrations enterprising enough to find sponsors for such costs. But Douglas and Hunt, two of the United States' most powerful managers, scoff at the idea.

Although grand prize prize-money will treble this summer, they are not satisfied. They want a share of the IAAF riches acquired through the \$91 million four-year television contract signed with the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), covering the 1993 and 1995 world championships. A further \$60 million-plus will come from Japanese television and sponsorship.

Should a boycott take place, the IAAF's windfall from the EBU would be reduced. "If there were unforeseen changes, there would be a reduction in money," Richard Bunn, the EBU's controller of sport, said. "But I cannot imagine a boycott."

Nike, the US team sponsor, would also reduce its payment to USATF. "The contract has safeguards which protect Nike in case there was a

boycott," Rudy Chapa, Nike's sports marketing director, said.

Douglas added: "The TV and sponsors' money is going to the IAAF because of the elite athletes, because of the great show they put on at the world championships in 1991, 1987 and 1983. The IAAF makes a huge income from athletes and it is a pity amount they are offering the federations."

The IAAR wants prize-money of \$100,000 for winners, \$50,000 for runners-up, scaling down to \$5,000 for eighth place. It has asked also for \$15,000 winners' cheques, with money down to sixth place, to be paid at the world indoor championships in Toronto in March.

Whether feelings are running as high as the managers suggest, only time will tell, but Pete Cava, USATF's spokesman, said: "It is hard to imagine a boycott in Stuttgart because there are a lot of athletes who did not win in Barcelona who feel they have something to prove." While John Smith, the coach to Quincy Watts and Kevin Young, respectively the Olympic 400 metres and 400 metres hurdles champions, says "a boycott of Stuttgart is still an option",

it is too early to say how British athletes might respond to the apparent strength of the feeling in the United States. Andy Norman, Britain's promotions officer, said in October that he could not foresee world championship prize-money being paid before the next century.

One imagines, for example, that Linford Christie would stand against Christie will be 33 come Stuttgart and this is his last chance to win the one international 100 metres title that has escaped him.

Kim McDonald, the British agent, said that Olympic champions had more to lose than to gain by competing in Stuttgart without prize-money. "Anybody who won gold in Barcelona could only lose marketing potential," McDonald said. "If they win, they consolidate; if they lose, it costs."

McDonald represents a profusion of Kenyan runners, whose contribution to the men's distance events is as important as the Americans' is to the sprints. "There is more politics involved for them than for others but they are much more aware now than a few years ago," McDonald said.

As Leroy Burrell, the former 100 metres world record-holder, said before the Olympics: "We aren't in this sport because we like it, or we want to earn our way through school. We're in it to make money." How many are prepared to risk a little to make a lot is a moot point.



Standing firm: Douglas has confirmed the boycott threat

Buffalo Bills return to the Super Bowl for third successive year

Cowboys revel in the generation game

By ROBERT KIRLEY

IN A stunning reversal of fortunes, the Dallas Cowboys earned a place in Super Bowl XXVII only four seasons after managing just one win. The Cowboys, who beat the San Francisco 49ers 30-20 on Sunday, will play the Buffalo Bills on January 31 in Pasadena, California.

Earlier in the day, Buffalo earned their third successive berth in the National Football League (NFL) championship game by beating the Miami Dolphins 29-10.

Improvement from the depths of the NFL usually occurs at a glacial pace — if ever — but the Cowboys, under the coaching of Jimmy Johnson, have won their first National Football Conference title in 13 years with a wonderfully-balanced team, the youngest in the league.

Emmitt Smith gained 114 yards and scored twice and Troy Aikman passed for 322 yards and two touchdowns to hand the Cowboys their sixth Super Bowl appearance, a league record.

The San Francisco defence controlled the pace before half-time, sacking Aikman four times, knocking down one pass and forcing a fumble. The young quarterback was still able to complete 11 of 18 pass attempts for 114 yards in the half.

Dallas broke a 10-10 half-time tie on the opening series of the third quarter when Aikman, starting only his second play-off game, led an eight-play, 78-yard drive that ended with Darryl Johnston's three-yard touchdown.

Steve Young, who had led the 49ers to the best record in the league in the absence of Joe Montana, threw two interceptions in the fourth quarter, but the San Francisco 49ers turned the ball over four times in the game with Dallas capitalising on two fumbles in the first half for ten points.

Aikman closed the 49ers' account when he hit Alvin Harper for a 70-yard gain to the San Francisco ten-yard line, resulting in a six-yard scoring pass to Kelvin Martin.

Jim Kelly, of Buffalo, returned from two games on the sidelines with a strained knee to fire one touchdown pass and Steve Christie tied a play-off record with five field goals to beat Miami. Thurman Thomas ran for 96 yards and caught a 17-yard touchdown pass. Ken Davis added a late two-yard scoring run for Buffalo, who became the fourth wild-card team to reach the Super Bowl. Only the 1980-1 Oakland Raiders won the Super Bowl as wild cards.

The Buffalo defence, virtually impenetrable in recent weeks, flustered Dan Marino, the Miami quarterback. The Bills had four sacks as Bruce Smith, Darryl Talley and Cornelius Bennett dominated.

Buffalo were runners-up in the last two Super Bowls and will have their hands full with Dallas.

RESULTS: Conference finals: American Football Conference (AFC) Buffalo 16-10, National Football Conference (NFC) Dallas 30-20. (January 21, Rose Bowl, Pasadena, California).



Under pressure: Tony Martin, a Dolphins receiver, misses a catch in Miami

RUGBY UNION

Wales using video to help prepare

By DAVID HANDS, RUGBY CORRESPONDENT

WALES, having enjoyed the opportunity to weigh up all their opponents in the five national championship over the weekend, will today announce a 42-strong training squad from which will come the XV to play England in Cardiff on February 6, and the B XV against Holland on the same day.

Seven of the Wales management team watched England begin their defence of the championship by beating France and attach no importance to the unexpectedly slim one-point margin. "I don't think it opens up the championship because, at the end of the day, England won," Alan Davies, the coach, said.

"They can come away from that game, get hold of the players and really shake them up — if the players don't do it for themselves anyway. England could come back with a vengeance. Their strength and experience has an effect on how we play but it is important for us to establish our own strategy, given the upsets we have had with our front row."

Davies and his colleagues accept that Mike Griffiths will not be fit to prop against England and Garin Jenkins, the Swansea hooker, will be suspended after being sent off last Friday. However, they have had expert video analysis of the Twickenham match prepared.

"England were probably lucky to win, not because of the dropped goal which hit the bar but because the French didn't maximise their scoring chances," Davies said. "There

were signs that, if a team commits itself against England, with a bit of organisation, they have a chance."

France losing Philippe Sella and Thierry Lacroix had a great influence. They were able to make one sound replacement, Franck Mesnel, but few sides have more than one player of that calibre to come on and it upsets the organisation of the backs."

England are likely to make no more than one change for the game in Cardiff, recalling Wade Dooley to the second-row place he would have occupied last Saturday but for a thigh injury. He should be fully recovered this week. They have the satisfaction, however, of having successfully blooded Martin Johnson, of Leicester, and know how well he can fit into their organisation.

Johnson played as well on his debut as anyone had a right to expect, and impressed Davies. "He played really well and took some lovely lineout ball with some classic jumping," Davies said.

France are unlikely to make changes for their match with Scotland, assuming both Sella and Lacroix have recovered. "After asking them to die for their country against England we are not going to execute those who were good patriots," Guy Laporte, chairman of the French selectors, said.

JOHANNESBURG: The directors of the Rugby World Cup organising committee are to meet South African political leaders today, seeking guarantees of a trouble-free tournament in 1995.

Ellis barred from trip with Wales

Warrington are heading for a showdown with the Rugby Football League by refusing Kevin Ellis, their international half back, permission to represent Wales in the World Sevens in Sydney from February 5 to 7.

Wales see the event as a valuable money-earner, not the irrelevant and damaging intrusion it is regarded as in many quarters. Peter Higham, the Warrington chairman, will support what he sees as legitimate international call-ups, but not a 'ten-day holiday in Australia' in mid-season.

Grindley in Athletics David Grindley and Darren Campbell, the sprinters who came to prominence last year, will lead Britain's challenge in the Pearl indoor international against Russia at Kelvin Hall, Glasgow on January 30.

Grindley, from Wigan, who broke the British record on his way to the Olympic final, runs in the 400 metres. Campbell runs in the 60 metres.

Holland out

Hockey: The Indira Gandhi tournament in Bombay was dealt another blow yesterday by the announcement that Holland had withdrawn on the grounds that the new proposed dates, March 15 to 22, are not suitable.

England had provisionally accepted these dates but now the absence of the Dutch diminishes further the quality of the event.

POOLS FORECAST

THIS is one of those strange weeks in which non-League fixtures take up more than half the coupon. Five of my treble chance selections come from this section.

After a poor start, Woking have adjusted well to a higher grade of football in the GM Vauxhall Conference. They have had better results away from home, winning seven matches, and can hold Gateshead, who are one place below them.

In the HFS Loans League

Saturday January 23

Unreliable

FA CUP

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CRICKET

Ambrose leads the way to victory

Melbourne: West Indies won the World Series Cup yesterday after beating Australia by four wickets in Melbourne to clinch the best-of-three match finals 2-0.

Curly Ambrose, who took three for 26, played a leading role in dismissing Australia for 147 in 47.3 overs. Brian Lara and Carl Hooper then scored measured hundred-ennies to steer West Indies home with three overs to spare.

Australia, who won the toss, lost Boon and the Waugh twins to run-outs. Taylor made the top score of 35 but Ambrose, who took five for 32 in the first final in Sydney on Saturday, made sure there was no chance of a late-innings revival.

The crowd of 72,492 was momentarily jubilant when West Indies lost Haynes and Simmons for ducks in the

He need only give a repeat of that sure-footed display to win today's Whitelaw Gold Cup at Folkestone, where he is

Lara's innings was painfully interrupted on 48, when he was struck in the groin by a ball from Steve Waugh, but the left-hander recovered to complete his second fifty of the finals, eventually hitting 60 from 100 balls. He scored 67 in the first final and also 277 in the third Test in Sydney.

The teams meet again in Adelaide on Saturday, when the five-match Test series resumes. Australia are 1-0 up with two games left. (Agencies)

D	Boon run out	19
M	Jones & Murray to Bishop	5
W	Wright run out	23
A	Wright run out	8
A	R Bauler c and to Hooper	6
R	Wright c and to Hooper	1
R	J Matthews c Large to Ambrose	15
I	C McDermide c Murray to Ambrose	1
I	Wright run out	1
J	McDermide to Hooper	0
E	Extras (3, nb 7)	10
T	Total (47.3 overs)	147
T	Wicket-keepers: 1-54, 2-35, 3-65, 4-77	4
T	Runs: 61-73, 7-33, 8-137, 9-146	14
T	Scoring: Bishop 9-2-33-23; Benjamin 10-3-30-3; Ambrose 10-0-35-3; Cummins 10-0-20-4; Hooper 6-3-25-3	14
WEST INDIES		
D	Haynes run out	0
R	Wright c and to Hooper	0
V	Sirmons c M E Waugh b McDermide	50
R	Richardson c Paffell b McDermide	5
S	Haynes c and to Hooper	5
L	Large c Healy b Paffell	7
R	Wright c Healy b McDermide	1

TOTAL (5 wins, 47 overs) 148
 ALL OF WICKETS: 1-7, 2-8, 3-23, 4-100, 5-
 125, 6-128.
 C. G. Benjamin, C. E. L. Ambrose, and A. C.
 Zimmerman did not bat.
 BOWLING: McDermott 10-0-35-2, Dode-
 son 10-4-24-3, Swilling 10-1-27-1, S. R.
 Waugh 10-1-30-0, M. E. Waugh 4-0-17-0,
 Matthews 3-0-19-0.

FIXTURES

FOOTBALL
 30 unknown assessed
 Third Cup
 Aston Town v Bristol City (7.45)
 Coca-Cola Cup
 First round
 Aston v Sheffield Wed (7.45)

Barclays League
Third division
Torquay v Carlisle 7-2
Autoglass Trophy
First round
Torquay v Plymouth (7.45)
Second round
Blackpool v Burnley
Cardiff v Swansea
Doncaster v Gillingham
Northampton v Hereford
Oldham v Scunthorpe
Sheff Wed v Wigan
Annents Scottish Cup
Third-round replay
Styebank v Airdrie
Stirling v Cove Rangers
Scottish League
Premier division

first division v Rotherham United
second division
order v Montrose
Rotherham United v Alton

ONTARIO CENTRAL LEAGUE: First division: Blackburn, Bramley (7.0), Cambridge, Chesham, Chesham & Wotton, Hurley, Wycombe Wanderers (7.0). Second division: Derby v Wigan (7.0); Gernsbury v Wigan (7.0).

SEVILLAN OVIENEN COMBINATION: First division: Luton v Arsenal (2.0); Luton v Arsenal (2.0). Second division: Luton v Arsenal (2.0); Luton v Arsenal (2.0).

ADOLFA LEAGUE: Premier division: St Albans, Watford, Wokingham. Second division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Third division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Fourth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Fifth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Sixth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Seventh division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Eighth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Ninth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham. Tenth division: Watford, Wokingham, Wokingham & Wokingham.

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ENGLAND: FA CUP: Preliminary round: Connah's Quay v Newtown; Northwich v Alton; Walsby v Farnham.

- 6.40 **Split! and Hercules** (2156513)
- 7.00 **The Big Breakfast** presented by Chris Evans and Gaby Rogers (73074)
- 9.00 **You Bet Your Life**. American game show hosted by Bill Cosby (s) (52422)
- 9.30 **Schools** (253093)
- 12.00 **The Parliamt. Programme**. Anne Perkins reports on the business of both Houses (76066)
- 12.30 **Sesame Street**. The guest is flautist James Galway (24246) 1.30 **Lift Off**. Children's entertainment (s) (82181)
- 2.00 **Film: Captain Hates the Sea** (1934, b/w) starring Victor McLaglen. A mixture of comedy and romance as a volatile ship's captain tries to keep order when the dramas and romances concerning his passengers and crew seem to be getting out of hand. Directed by Lewis Milestone. (Teletext) (575364)
- 3.35 **Land Above the Trees**. Documentary shon about plants that grow like the trees. (The movie above the tree line (1993155))
- 3.55 **Waterways**. The third of Dick Wadsworth's sea-part journey through Ireland's inland waterways. (4458190)
- 4.30 **Countdown**. Words and numbers game presented by Richard Whitley. (Teletext) (s) (806)
- 5.00 **The Oprah Winfrey Show**. The guest is Betty Broderick, a wealthy socialite found guilty of murdering her former husband and his second wife (s) (252871)
- 5.20 **The Magic Roundabout** narrated by Nigel Planer (r) (193971)
- 6.00 **Crystal Maze**. Trials of skill, strength and intelligence conducted by Richard O'Brien (r) (s) (98839)
- 7.00 **Channel 4 News**. (Teletext) Weather (174722)
- 7.15 **It's Come To This**. How two pambrokers have founshed during the recession (623242)
- 8.00 **Decisions**.
● **CHOICE**: The third programme in this thought-provoking series looks at one of the most difficult decisions of all — "Should I put my elderly parent in a home?" Moral philosopher Anne Kelleher submits two women to some pretty tough questioning as she asks them to explain why they did what they did. Jean chose a residential home for her mother, a sufferer of Alzheimer's disease, but she still feels horribly guilty by contrast Sharon is caring for her severely arthritic mother at home, but when Kelleher asks, "That makes you a wonderful daughter, does it make you a wonderful mother?", she has to admit that at the end of a hard day it is her children who "get it in the neck". One feels great sympathy for both women, but it would have been interesting to hear from other family members (Teletext) (2165)
- 8.30 **Operation Hospital**. The third of a six-part look at a year in the life of King's College Hospital in London. (Teletext) (7890)
- 9.00 **For Love or Money**. Nicholas Ward-Jackson previews the McLaren exhibition at the Royal Academy; and Malcolm McLaren demonstrates how punk culture is being turned into art (494513)
- 9.45 **Philly Romance: London — the Heavenly Twins**. A perfect secretary and a snigger swan identities (r) (509635)



Fatal affair: Rupert Everett, Miranda Richardson (10.00pm)

10.00 Film: *Dance With a Stranger* (1985) starring Miranda Richardson and Rupert Everett. Mike Newell's acclaimed drama about Ruth Ellis, the last woman to be hanged in Britain after being found guilty of the murder of her lover. (Teletext) (585242)

11.50 *Dream On*. American comedy series starring Brian Benben as a divorced New York publisher with an active sex life (f). (Teletext) (s) (854161)

12.25 *Sam Don't Fail Me Now*. A compilation of jazz music and dance from the United States. (TV3) (3204). Ends at 1.30

UK GOLD

(56709) 11.00 Ice Hockey (25155) 15.00
Top Match Football (68587) 3.00 Indict
Hockey: England v Canada (88918) 4.00
(60884) 3.00 American Football (60884)
(60884) 3.00 NFL American Football (602)
12.30 Pro Sports (74722) 10.30 Snooker (640)
12.30-1pm Asia Sports Magazine (55855)

LIFESTYLE

10.00am The Small Zone (40242) 10.30
Lunch Lighthouse Show (64800) 11.00 Gold
90245 11.30 John Peel (87011)
12.15pm Sally Jessy Raphael (10942)
1.10 David Hamilton's People (71956)
1.10 Sally Jessy Raphael (10942)
1.45 Sally Jessy Raphael (10942)
1.47(3331) 3.00 The New Newsworld
Gardens 3.30 Burns and Allen (8307) 4.00 Se
Van Dyke (7219) 4.30 The Dick Cavett
(36074) 5.30 Steve Allen (8307) 6.00 Se
Sally Jessy Raphael (81155) 7.00 Safe-Vi
1.00 5.30-10.00m The World News (7730)
(139541) 2.30-3.00am Top View (7730)

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4.05 Kaleidoscope investigates who qualifies for an entry in the Dictionary of British Biographers: *Wesley Rado's The Older Woman*, and talks to the author and musician (s)

4.45 *Short Story: The Quilt*, by Jerry Hirsch. Read by Melissa Sinden (s)

5.00 *Pop: 1980 Shopping* 5.55 *Weather*

6.00 *St O'Clock News*

6.30 *Second Thoughts*, by Jan Fenton. Interview with John Starring James Boleyn and Lynda Bellingham (r)

7.00 *Book of the Week* (s)

7.20 *The Brothers: The last of three programmes* in which Anthony Howard traces the turbulent history of the trade union movement since the second world war (s)

8.00 *Science Now* (r)

8.30 *The Saturday Night* *Mon. Live*

9.00 **CHOICE:** The one person who ought to know why La Gioconda is smiling in Leonardo's painting? If, indeed she is smiling) is Mona Lisa herself. Talking to Kingston, she eventually overcomes her reluctance to discuss her work. I propose to be the one explanation that nobody, but nobody, has previously hit upon. Emotionally, the lady frantically in *Leonardo* (Richardson) turns out to have a short fuse and resents Leonardo's not having mentioned something useful for women, too. A washing machine, for instance

9.45 *In Touch: Should public libraries pay for Braille and large books for blind readers?* (s)

9.15 *Kaleidoscope* (r) (s)

9.45 *The Financial World* (s)

1.00 *5.35 Weather*

1.05 *The World Tonight* (s)

0.45 *Spook at Baytime*, by M. O'Brien, by Ernest Raymond (7/10)


1.00 *Stanza on Stage: The poet Benjamin Zephaniah performs at the BBC Poetry Festival in Bristol*

1.30 *Today in Parliament*

2.00 *12-63am News*, *tvcl 12.27*

2.30 *12-63am News*, *tvcl 12.27* 12.43

As *World Service*, *tvcl 12.27*

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